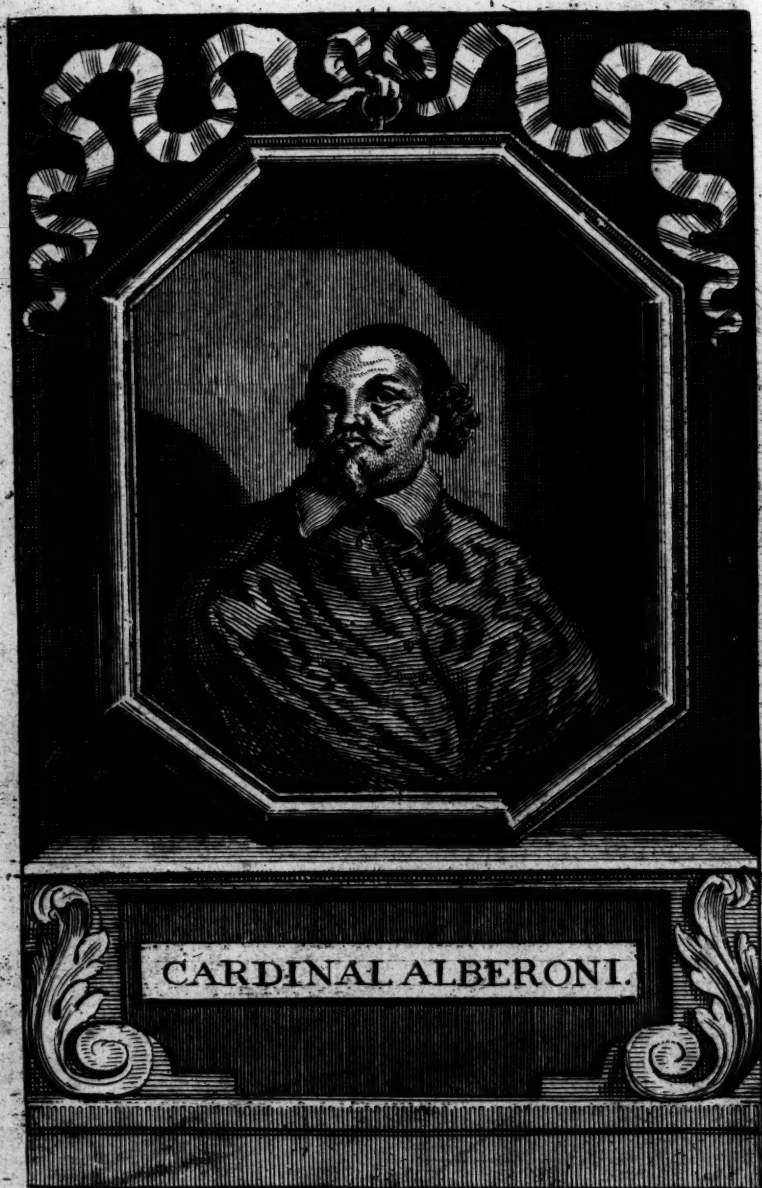


CARDINAL ALBERONI.



CARDINAL ALBERONI.

59a

THE
HISTORY
OF
CARDINAL
ALBERONI;
CHIEF FAVOURITE
OF THEIR
CATHOLICK MAJESTIES;
AND 123e
Universal Minister
OF THE
SPANISH MONARCHY;
From his BIRTH to the Year 1719.

To which are ADDED
CONSIDERATIONS upon the Present State of the SPANISH Monarchy.

Faithfully Translated from the Originals.

Quidam, ad eas laudes, quas a majoribus acceperunt, addunt aliquam suam; maximeque in eo elaborant ii, qui magna sibi proponunt, obscuris orti Majoribus.

Cic. de Off. l. i. c. 32.

LONDON: Printed for SAM. ILLIDGE under Serle's-Gate, Lincolns-Inn New Square; THO. CORBET at Addison's Head without Temple-Bar; and HEN. RIBOTEAU at the Crown near Exeter-Exchange in the Strand; MDCCXIX.

17

THE
HISTORY
OF
CARDINAL

ALBERONI



Universal Museum

SPANISH MONARCHY

From his Birth to the Year 1718.

CONSIDERATIONS upon the
State of the Spanish Monarchy.

Faithfully Translated from the Original.

By J. G. O. L. C. 32.

LONDON: Printed for S. M. L. under
St. Paul's Church, in New Street; Tho-
mas at Aldgate's Head without Temple-
Bar; and H. R. B. at the Green near
Exeter-Exchange in the Strand; MDCCLXIX.



THE CHARACTER

AND PORTRAITURE

OF Cardinal *ALBERONI*.

IF the Picture of a Man consisted only in the Description of his Body, I should soon finish the Piece before me; for it were enough to say, that the Cardinal is a little Man, inclining to be fat, having no Beauty in the Lineaments of his Face, which is too broad, and his Head too big: But the Eyes, the Windows of the Soul, discover at first view the Greatness of *Alberoni's*, by a Lustre, so

1232

company'd with an uncommon Sweetness mix'd with Majesty, and he knows how to give his Voice such an insinuating Turn, as renders his Conversation always agreeable and charming. So much for his Body; we come now to his Mind and Manners. There are some who maintain that the Desire of Glory, of a great Name, of Immortality; in one Word, *Ambition*, is the first Principle of all the Actions, Steps and Designs of this Cardinal; I for my part without Flattery dare to assert, that the Glory of the King his Master, the Greatness of *Spain*, and the Happiness of the People are his only Aim, and the Point which he ever keeps in View in all his Undertakings; so that when once he is convinc'd that any one of those three is concern'd, he spares no Cost, and dares do any thing that he may succeed. Being an *Italian*, and consequently sensible of the cruel Pleasure of Vengeance, he knows not what it is to pardon an Offence, and if he feigns to defer his Revenge, 'tis only that he may work it with the more Certainty and Violence; but he has none of the Faults in him which are commonly met with in those whom the Ancients stil'd *novos homines*; for without forgetting his former Condition, he keeps the high Rank, to which Fortune has advanc'd him, with the Gravity of a *Spanish* Grandee, but season'd with that peculiar Suppleness so natural to the *Italians*, which corrects all that is offensive and insupportable in the Haughtiness of a Grandee. As a Minister of State, he keeps up all the Prerogatives of such a one with a high Hand, which indeed does not gain him the Affection of the Grandees;

dees; but this Stateliness proceeds rather from his Dignity than his Temper. Being laborious to excess, he never takes his Ease but when Business is at a stand; for he has been often employ'd eighteen Hours together in twenty four, reserving only the six others for Repast and Sleep. 'Twas from this great Application, as much as from his natural Inclination, came that Aversion he always manifested for every thing call'd Pleasure, of what kind soever. Being as affable to Persons in mean Circumstances, as he is lofty with the Great ones; he is always sure to gain their Affection as often as necessary. Being a Dissembler as far as a Courtier ought to be, he seldom says what he thinks, and scarce ever does what he says without some difficulty; being perswaded that the Success of any Enterprize, be it what it will, depends as much upon its being a Secret, as on the Measures taken to carry it well through. A Political Virtue, which is the more necessary to him, because he has a natural Bent for all Enterprizes that are extraordinary and surprizing to Mankind, as thinking it beneath him to walk in the beaten Paths of other Ministers that went before him: And it may be said to his Honour, that *Spain*, which an indolent Softness had, as one may say, render'd contemptible for above an Age, is oblig'd to him for shewing to the whole World that she is powerful enough to be formidable to all her Neighbours, and wealthy enough to undertake whatever she pleases, now that she is govern'd by a vigilant able Minister, who knows how to make an advantage of his Power; so that this

vast Monarchy must expect, whenever a Peace
 permits this Minister to enter into an Exami-
 nation of all the Parts of the Government, to
 see her Provinces under a better Regulation,
 her Commerce more flourishing, her Naval
 Force more considerable, her Armies better
 disciplin'd, and in a Word, her Power augment-
 ed to such a degree, as will return to her the
 Honour of the Ages of the *Charles's* and *Ferdi-*
nands, without the Occasion of reproaching
Alberoni with a haughty Stiffness, of which per-
 haps he had never been guilty, if he had been
 at the Helm of Government of a Nation not
 so sensible as the *Spaniards* of what they call the
 Point of Honour.






THE HISTORY

OF
Cardinal Julius Alberoni,

*Archbishop of Seville, and Prime Minister to
his Catholick Majesty King Philip V.*

 *JOHN Alberoni*, Father of the Cardinal, was present when he was born in his Cottage, at one of the Extremities of the City of *Placentia* in *Italy*, the 30th of *March* 1664, in the 16th Year of the Regency of *Duke Ranucius II*; and at the beginning of the 9th of the Pontificate of *Alexander VII*. Some Days after his Birth, being presented at the holy Font for Baptism, he there receiv'd the Name of *Julius*. He was brought up till twelve or fourteen Years of Age, in such a Manner as may be imagin'd, by his Parents, who were, indeed, honest People; but having a very small Portion of the Gifts of Fortune, earn'd their Bread with the Sweat of their Brows, by working in the Vineyards and Gardens.

Those who make Honour and Grandeur to consist in the noble Chimera of the Name, Dignities, and Escutcheons of their Ancestors, will undoubtedly find that the Cardinal has none of these to boast of; but those who have truer Ideas, who call a *Spade a Spade*, and who only look for the Greatness of a Man in his Virtue and in his Actions, will own, that considering the Splendor of the Post, to which JULIUS ALBERONI has advanc'd himself by his own happy Genius, a finer Panegyric cannot be bestow'd upon him than publishing to the World the Meanness of his Birth. In short, this first Circumstance of Life ought to have the less Influence in our Judgment of a great Man, because we cannot pretend to be the Children of whom we please, and that such a one owes his Being to a Prince, whose natural Temper and Inclinations discover more Meanness of Birth than if he was the Son of a Jocky: Whereas nothing is more glorious, than when, notwithstanding the Defect of Education, a Man knows how to rectify and elevate the Inclinations which a contemptible Birth and mean Blood naturally incline to be servile. This may justly be said to the Praise of young *Alberoni*, that he scarce began to know himself, but he bewail'd his hard Fate that had given him such Parents as were utterly incapable of giving him that Education which he envy'd in others of his Age. This noble Emulation inspir'd him with the means to get out of that Nothing, to which, it seems, Poverty had condemn'd him for ever; he thought the best and shortest Way for him would be to embrace the Condition of an Ecclesiastic: There's scarce a City in *Italy* where
there

there are more Clergymen than at *Placentia*, because of the Privileges and Exemptions they there enjoy, so that there's scarce a Family without them: Therefore it was no hard Matter for *Alberoni*, who had all the Address and Suppleness of Temper necessary for insinuating himself, to obtain the Place of a Clerk in his Parish Church, in which there happen'd to be an honest Priest, who was ready to employ some of his leisure Hours in teaching Clerk *Alberoni* to read and write, who repaid his Master's Care of him by his assiduous Services; for you must know, that he who writes himself Clerk in those Churches of *Italy*, is the same as the Priests Footman or Vestry-Boy in *France*.

Nothing is difficult to one who makes his Labour his Delight, so that *Alberoni* soon knew as much as he wanted to learn of his honest Priest, and considering his first Notions, as an Entrance upon a much greater Progress, which it was his Honour to make, he improv'd the good Dispositions of some *Barnabites* towards him, to procure himself Admittance into their Convent.

The Congregation of the Clerks Regular of St. *Paul* (who were called *Barnabites* for the same Reason as the *Parisians* call the *Dominicans*, or preaching Fryars, *Jacobins*) establish'd itself in *Italy* at the same time as that of the Jesuits was form'd in *France*; both the one and the other, tho' very different in Manners, in Conduct and in Sentiments resemble one another pretty much by their Habits, and especially by their Devotion to the Instruction of Youth. The *Barnabites*, who are possess'd of several fine Colleges in *Italy*, soon observ'd the Inclination of

Alberoni for Study; so that they took care to teach him what we call humane Learning.

The passionate Desire he had to become an able Man, as the only Means to bring him out of that Obscurity in which he was born, made him improve himself as much in a short Space of Time, as others do in the Course of many Years. Nevertheless it must be own'd, that this Study appearing very dry to him, he apply'd himself to it only as far as it was indispensably necessary; and learnt just enough to say, that he tolerably understood the Language.

Those whom his lively, supple and insinuating Temper render'd his Patrons, procur'd him the Office of Clerk-Ringer in the Cathedral, by which he got Money, made a better Figure in Life, and gain'd the Friendship of all Persons with whom he had any Business. Several Canons of the Cathedral were of this Number; not the least Opportunity offer'd wherein he could do any one of 'em Service but he carefully improv'd it, and became so agreeable to them all, that upon occasion they strove to do him a Pleasure; he took care not to neglect such favourable Dispositions, and having distinguish'd those who had the Ear of the Bishop, requested their Interest with him to grant him the Tonsure. They did not meet with much difficulty in obtaining a Favour of this Prelate, which he could scarce refuse them. This first Ceremony was soon follow'd with the inferior Orders, so that he saw himself insensibly at the Point of being invested with the Sacred Character of the Priesthood, and yet out of a Capacity of attaining it, because he had

Cardinal ALBERONI. 9

no Patrimony; without which, at least in Appearance, 'tis a Law of the Church, especially in *Italy*, that no Person shall be ordain'd Priest.

Any other Man might have been dash'd to pieces against such a Rock, and there was not the least Appearance that *Alberoni* cou'd get clear on't, especially in a City where his Extraction was known, and where any one but he would have thought himself very happy in his Fortune, and not have aim'd at any higher Employ than that which he held as Clerk-Ringer; but he carried his Views further, and it was not without Design that he spar'd no Pains, no Submission, nor Flattery to procure Friends and Patrons: He united them all upon this Occasion, wherein they might crown all their good Offices by obtaining some little Benefice for him, to serve him in lieu of a Patrimony; he succeeded; and by consequence receiv'd Priests Orders. Then he quitted his Employ in the Cathedral, to go and spend some Time in the Family of the Vice Legat of *Romagnia*, residing at *Ravenna* the Capital of that Province.

M. Barni, the Vice Legat, admitted him into his Family with Pleasure, hearing by Fame that he was a Man of a brisk, gay Temper, and his Company every way fit to dissipate the Chagrin of an irksome Solitude; nor was he mistaken in his Man, and *Alberoni* on his Part improv'd the frequent Opportunities he had of conferring with the Vice Legat, so far as entirely to gain his Friendship and Confidence; so that *M. Barni* being nominated to the Bishoprick of *Placentia*, *Alberoni* found out a Way to make himself necessary in a Town, with the chief

chief of whose Inhabitants he was well acquainted, so that the new Bishop kept him in his House, and committed to him the Direction or Superintendance thereof.

There are some that would govern their own Households well, who are often incapable of regulating another's; at least, 'tis certain that there are no good provident Intendants, but those who have learnt their Experience at the Expence of their first Patron. *Alberoni* had never known what it was to manage a great House; what we have seen of his Birth, Education and Conduct, till he came into the Vice Legat's Family, is sufficient to shew that he was a mere Novice in that Post, which he did not dare to refuse, and which, by consequence, he discharg'd very indifferently; for which reason the new Bishop soon dismiss'd him from it; but that he might do it genteely, and in a way answerable to the Esteem he always shew'd for him, he gave him a Canon's Place, which was vacant in his Cathedral.

Now *Alberoni* perceiv'd himself above the Frowns of Fortune, and began to have great Hopes from the Constellation, which presid'd at his Birth; and he pleas'd himself the better with his present Situation, because he only ow'd it to himself, to his Patience, to his Application, and Study for all Occasions of reconciling his Friends and Patrons, to his Complaisance and the Art in which he is a Master, of insinuating and rendring himself necessary.

Any one, but *Alberoni*, would have been content with the Revenue of his Benefice, and retir'd from the Bishop's Palace, to live at ease without Dependence; but our Abbot had other

Views,

Cardinal ALBERONI. II

Views, or rather Fortune had for him, which could not yet break out, and which she conducted with her usual Address; for *Alberoni*, considering that as he had a Benefice, he might also render himself necessary to his Patron, who wanted a Preceptor for the Abbot *Barni* his Nephew, he offer'd himself for that painful Employ, for which he was scarce fitter than for that of Steward, it being certain that a Man, who would bring up a Nobleman well, ought to have been educated such himself, or he cannot know all the Rules of Behaviour; and that, in order to train up a young Nobleman well, the Tutor himself should have had good Masters, and ought to know something. But Abbot *Alberoni* had nothing of this to shew; for being the Son of a poor Gardner, he ow'd all his Education to himself, and being instructed by a few Priests out of Charity, he had not furnish'd himself with much Latin in their Schools, but he supply'd those essential Defects by a great deal of Reflection, and a peculiar Attention to his own Conduct, and to the Conduct and Manners of others: Therefore, being persuaded of his own Ignorance, he carry'd himself to his Pupil more like his School-fellow than his Preceptor, going along with him to the Colleges of Philosophy and Civil Law, where he learnt Lessons with the same and more Application and Exactness than his Scholar, and made useful Repetitions with him when they return'd to their Apartment.

Abbot *Barni* going to *Rome*, by Order of his Uncle, *Alberoni* accompanied him; and after they were arriv'd, he omitted nothing to make himself known, that is to say, to get Friends
and

and Patrons among the greatest Noblemen, whom he had occasion to attend, for he never left his Pupil, who thought it also a Pleasure and a Duty to introduce him to Persons of the first Quality.

We will leave our Abbot at this famous City, where Fortune had such distinguishing Honours in reserve for him, and make a little Digression to speak of the *Farnese* Family, whose Grandeur and Interest became so dear to him after his Return from *Rome*.

Duke *Ranucius* II, Father of the Duke of *Parma*, at this Time Regent, had three Sons, viz. *Edward* II, by his first Wife, who was *Margaret* of *Savoy*, Daughter of *Victor Amadens* I. and by his second Wife *Isabella* of *Modena*, he had *Francis* I. and *Anthony*.

In 1690, Prince *Edward* marry'd the Princess *Dorothea Sophia* of *Newbourgh*, Daughter of *Philip William* Elector *Palatin*, Sister of the Empress Mother, and of the Queen Dowager of *Spain*; by this Marriage he had only two Children, viz. *Alexander Ignatius*, who dy'd in 1693, some Months before his Father; and Princess *Elizabeth* born October 25, 1692.

Duke *Ranucius* dying a Year after his eldest Son, the Dutchie of *Parma* and *Placentia*, and all the Rights of the *Farnese* Family devolv'd to Duke *Francis* I. who was born the 19th of *May*, 1678; and in 1695, marry'd the Princess his Brother *Edward's* Widow, by a Dispensation from Pope *Innocent* XII. Hitherto he has had no Children, and is not very likely to have any, for his Princess is just going into the 50th Year of her Age, she being born the 5th of *July* 1670. For this Reason it was believ'd, that

Anthony,

Anthony, the only Heir of the *Farnese* Family, would have marry'd his Cousin the Princess *Elizabeth*, in order, by such a Marriage, to reunite all the Titles of Succession.

As it will be necessary to speak more than once of this Family in the Sequel of this History, I think it may not be amiss to trace its Origin, and to enquire how it became possess'd of their Dominions; the rather, because the Original of the said Possession is, at this Day, the Subject of a very knotty Debate among Politicians.

The Chief of this Family was *Ranucius Farnese*, General of the Forces of the Church in 1432, under Pope *Eugenius IV.* The Grandson of this *Ranucius* was advanc'd to the Holy See in 1649, and took the Name of *Paul III.* This Holy Father, before he was rais'd to the Pontificate, had both a Son and a Daughter. These were Cases neither rare nor infamous in those Times, when Persons, oblig'd to Celibacy by the Laws of the Church, educated their Children publicly, tho' born before their Advancement to Ecclesiastical Dignities, by a natural Conjunction, warranted by the single Security of a private Conscience. This holy Father, like some of his Predecessors on the same Occasion, happily match'd his Daughter *Constantia* to *Bosio II.* of the Family of *Sforza*, and created his Son *Peter Lewis Farnese*, first, Duke of *Castro* and *Camerino*; and then of *Parma* and *Placentia*; by which Means he united four rich Fiefs of the Church in his own Person: For 'tis given out at *Rome*, that the two last Duchies have held only of the Holy See, ever since Pope *Julius II.* took Possession thereof, by Consent of the Emperor *Max-*

Maximilian I. and, in effect, the Dukes of *Parma*, who own such Dependence on the Holy See, pay it a sort of annual Tribute, or Acknowledgment of 10000 Scudi.

Peter Lewis being assassinated in a Conspiracy, which was laid to the Account of *Charles V.* who had a Mind to vex the Holy Father, had for his Successor his Son *Octavius*, who marry'd that Emperor's natural Daughter, the famous Princess *Margaretta*, Governess of the Netherlands. Ever since that time the *Farnese* Family has let no Occasion pass of testifying their Attachment to *Spain*, tho' they never had any reason to be much in love with that Crown.

Duke *Francis*, the present Regent, great Grandson to Duke *Ranucius I.* who was Grandson to Duke *Octavius*, made no great Appearance on the Theatre of the last War. The Troops of the two Crowns entering *Italy*, in conjunction with those of the Duke of *Savoy*, soon made such a Progress in that Country, as astonish'd the Court of *Vienna*; who thereupon sent all the Forces thither they could spare, under the Command of Prince *Eugene*.

Both Sides set all Engines at Work to bring the Princes of *Lombardy* over to their Interests, and *M. Catinat*, who negociated that Affair by Order of the King his Master, succeeded with the Duke of *Mantua*, while the Duke of *Modena* declar'd for the *Germans*; but the Duke of *Parma* declaring himself the Pope's Vassal got free of the Sollicitations of Colonel *Locatelli*, whom Prince *Eugene* sent to him; and on the other hand, without declaring for King *Philip*, he carry'd it very artfully to the Generals of the two Crowns, whose Armies were on the

Frontiers of his Dominions, and always had some Person of Confidence about them to take care of his Interest.

After Prince *Eugene's* Enterprize upon *Cremona* in 1702, and the carrying off of the Duke of *Villeroy*, the King of *France* gave the Command of his Army in *Italy* to the Duke of *Vendosm*; who no sooner arriv'd there to open the Campaign, but the Duke of *Parma* sent the Count *Romcoveri* to him, who, after he had accompanied Prince *Anthony* in his Travels thro' the chief Countries in *Europe*, under the Name of Marquis *de Sala*, was nominated to the Bishoprick of *St. Donnin*, between the Cities of *Parma* and *Placentia*. This Prelate was one of the politest Men in the World; he had a Genius as sublime as it was lively and penetrating, and was the better qualified for Affairs of the greatest Importance; because at the first Interview he knew the good or ill Qualities of those with whom he convers'd. Abbot *Alberoni* had the Happiness to be known to him, and perceiving what an Interest the Prelate had with the Duke Regent and the Prince his Brother, he took all Opportunities to introduce himself to him in a singular Way; so that being well receiv'd the first time, he insinuated himself so easily into that Nobleman's Favour, that at the second Visit which *Alberoni* paid him, he granted him those Marks of Esteem to which he owes his whole Fortune.

In short, the Bishop of *St. Donnin* being to wait upon the Duke of *Vendosm*, took *Alberoni* along with him, either to bear him Company, or to make use of him, the rather because he talk'd *French* well, having learnt it by attending
at

at the Lectures of his Pupil the Abbot *Barni's* Masters.

Abbot *Alberoni's* Conduct was highly approv'd by the Officers belonging to the Retinue of the *French* General, before whom they so often talk'd of the Smartness of his Repartees, and the Pleasantness of his Conversation, that that Prince was desirous to admit him into his Family. Happy Interview, that at first gain'd for our Abbot the Esteem, soon after the Friendship, and at last the entire Confidence of the Duke of *Vendosm*, who continually calling him his *dear Abbot*, took no delight or ease but in his Company: So that the Courtiers, who were sensible of the Ascendant this Stranger had gain'd upon their General, speedily began to give him frequent Attendance. *Alberoni* had a watchful Eye upon this Occasion, and not suffering himself to be intoxicated with the Fumes of Flattery, that were often very fulsome on the Part of the Officers who surrounded him; he convers'd with them after such a Manner, as if they were the Favourites, and he their humble Servant. The Duke of *Parma's* Agent was one of the first that perceiv'd the powerful Influence *Alberoni* had over the *French* General; so that he made use of it to very good Purpose in promoting the Interest of the Duke his Master; even so far, that being perswaded that the Abbot would prove more successful than himself at the Duke of *Vendosm's* Levy, he advis'd Duke *Francis* to give him the Commission with which he was honour'd: Thus, to the great Satisfaction of the *French* General, he saw his Favourite come back with the Character of an Agent, after having been nominated

to a Canon's Place in the Cathedral of *Parma*. This Commission lasted as long as the Duke of *Vendosm* continu'd in *Italy*; and *Alberoni* manag'd his Master's Business so dextrously, that the Imperialists being continually apprehensive that the Duke would admit a *French* Garrison into his Capital City, (if he were provok'd) they durst not give him any Disturbance.

The Publick Transactions were carried on after this Manner till the beginning of the Year 1706, when the Duke of *Vendosm* was recalled, and the Duke of *Orleans* sent to supply his Place: Then the Scene was chang'd; the Action at *Pianesse*, follow'd by the Battle of *Turin*, and the raising the Siege of that Capital; disappointed and ruin'd the Affairs of the two Crowns in *Italy*, where the Imperialists and the Duke of *Savoy* began to be predominant.

The next Campaign, the Duke of *Parma* was first of all made sensible, that they had spar'd him upon no other Account than the Consideration of the near Approach of the Armies of *France* and *Spain*: Thus they immediately fell into his Dominions, and took up Winter-Quarters there by Force, exacting great Contributions, notwithstanding the Protestations of the Duke: However, that Prince professing himself to be a Vassal of the Church, and imploring her Protection, was nevertheless oblig'd to appoint the Governor *Malpeli* to conclude the following Agreement with the Marquis *de Prie*, the Emperor's Plenipotentiary in *Italy*.

C A R
T
The Name of the Emperor's Com-
missioner

ARTICLES agreed upon between his Excellency the Marquess de Prié, as Plenipotentiary of his Imperial Majesty in Italy, by virtue of an Imperial Diploma, dated the fourth of May last; and the Illustrious Governor Francis Malpeli, Deputy of his most Serene Highness the Duke of Parma; with the Participation and Mediation of the Illustrious Messieurs Count John Francis Marazzani Visconti, and Marquess Annibal Scotti, both Knights of this Community of Placentia; who, with the Approbation and Consent of his most Serene Highness, as appears from his Rescript dated the 20th of November ult, came to the underwritten Agreement, upon the Regulation of the present Winter-Quarters, taken by Force in the Dominions of Parma and Placentia, upon the Entrance of the Imperial Troops and their Allies, notwithstanding the Recourse had at several Times, and the most pressing Remonstrances made by the said Lord Duke, by Means of his Ministers, as well as by the Communities of Parma and Placentia; for the Establishment of a good Order, and to avoid the greatest Damages and Mischiefs.

I.

“**T**HE above nam'd Marquess de Prié, in
 “ the Name of the Emperor's Com-
 “ missioner,

“ missioner, has fix’d the Amount of the afore-
 “ said Winter-Quarters at the Sum of ninety
 “ thousand *Spanish* Pistoles or their Value, of
 “ which Sum, the private Laymen of the said
 “ two Dominions (without comprehending the
 “ Part which relates to the Clergy, hereafter
 “ specify’d in the ninth Article) shall disburse
 “ sixty seven thousand one hundred and fifty
 “ Pistoles, at the Times, and after the Man-
 “ ner hereafter express’d; and consign them to
 “ the Emperor’s Military Chest, for the Main-
 “ tenance of the said Troops which shall con-
 “ tinue quarter’d in the said Dominions, and
 “ of the Regiments of Horse, that have been
 “ withdrawn from thence, for the greater Ease
 “ of the said Dominions. For this Sum every
 “ thing shall be made good and discharged
 “ that relates to the Provisions furnish’d by the
 “ Country, both for Man and Horse. The
 “ Generals as well as the Officers and private
 “ Centinels are to be punctual in providing (ex-
 “ cept the Particulars hereafter specified) Meat,
 “ Wine and all Sorts of Eatables, which shall
 “ be rated at a certain Price; and in case there
 “ happen any Disorder, contrary to the good
 “ Regulation which shall be publish’d and set-
 “ tled in the Quarters, it shall be redress’d with
 “ Care and Diligence by the Commanders of the
 “ Regiments, who shall oblige the Transgressor
 “ to make a suitable Amends; but in case it
 “ cannot be obtain’d by their Means, then Re-
 “ course shall be had to his Excellency the Ge-
 “ neral of the Horse the Marquels *Visconti*,
 “ Commander in these Quarters, who shall
 “ cause due Satisfaction to be given them.

II.

“ The said Lord Marquess *de Prie* has com-
 “ descended to a Deduction of five thousand
 “ Pistoles out of the Sum Total of ninety thou-
 “ sand Pistoles; ; and that on account of and
 “ by way of Payment for the Bread the Im-
 “ perial Army was supply’d with in their Pas-
 “ sage thro’ this Dominion the last Month of
 “ *August*.

III.

“ To secure yet farther the Payment of the
 “ said Sum relating to the Laity, and to make
 “ it more easy to the Country, it is agreed
 “ by an exprefs Covenant, that two Thirds of
 “ that Sum amounting to 42500 Pistoles, shall
 “ be laid out in the Month of *April* next; and
 “ the other Third of 21250, shall be taken up-
 “ on the Bond, two of the most eminent Bank-
 “ ers of these Dominions shall give, to pay the
 “ said Sum at two several Times, *viz.* one half
 “ in the Month of *August*, and the other in
 “ the Month of *October* of the Year ensuing:
 “ With these Sums, the Marquess *de Prie* de-
 “ clares, that the Lord Duke has discharg’d
 “ the Feodal Obligations he lies under to his
 “ Imperial Majesty, &c.

The other Articles, to the ninth, relate only
 to the Manner of Levying the said Contribu-
 tions, and distributing the Rations of Provi-
 sions to the Soldiers. The ninth Article has
 respect to the Clergy, and is compris’d in these
 Terms.

IX. To

IX.

“ To make the Ballance of the present
 “ Quarters equal, and to ease the State, all
 “ private Persons without Distinction (tho’
 “ guarded with ever so great Privileges) shall
 “ contribute; since even his most Serene High-
 “ ness himself submits to the Payment of a
 “ Quota of his Estate. And in regard that the
 “ Clergy, as well Secular as Regular, are pos-
 “ sess’d of a considerable Part of the Lands in
 “ the two Dominions, and have already contri-
 “ buted heretofore to the Payments of Quarters,
 “ and still actually contribute to the fourth Part
 “ of what is charg’d upon the Laity, to maintain
 “ the Garrisons of *Parma* and *Placentia*. The
 “ Imperial Commissioner reserves to himself the
 “ Power in due and lawful Form, to exact their
 “ Share at the *pro rata* of 21250 Pistoles; for
 “ which the Estates of the said Clergy shall be
 “ secur’d from much greater Damage they
 “ might suffer, if they were not freed from it
 “ by the abovemention’d Expedient: Concern-
 “ ing all which Points, nevertheless, it is so-
 “ lemnly declar’d on the Part of the Laity,
 “ that they will not be in an any wise con-
 “ cern’d, or meddle with that Business in any
 “ Manner whatsoever.

In Witness whereof these Presents are sub-
 scrib’d, &c.

At *Placentia*, in the
 Convent of *St. Sa-
 vino*, the 14th of
 December, 1708.

The Marquess de Prie.
 Francis Malpeli, Governor
 and Delegate.
 Fran. Marazzani Visconti.
 Annibal Scotti.

This Convention was no sooner carried to the Court of *Rome*, but it excited all the Holy Father's Indignation, who immediately rais'd all the Thunder of the Vatican against the Generals, Officers, and Soldiers, who had dar'd to trample with Violence upon the Sacred Territory of the Church, and darting his Thunder even at the Emperor himself, he sent the following Bull, which sets forth the Pretensions of the Holy See to the Dutchies of *Parma* and *Placentia*.

CLEMENT XI. Pope.

For the Future Memory of the THING.

"SOME Months ago it came to the Know-
 "ledge of our Apostleship, to the great
 "Disquiet of our Mind, that when in the Month
 "of *November* last past, some Regiments of Ger-
 "man Soldiers made a sudden Irruption into se-
 "veral Places of the Dutchies of *Parma* and *Pla-*
 "centia, and brought great and very heavy Da-
 "mages upon the Inhabitants of the said Places;
 "and besides, the Leaders or Commanders of
 "those Troops declar'd, they were resolv'd to
 "take Winter-Quarters there, actually and by
 "Force; and when the many Reasons urg'd,
 "as well by our beloved Son the Noble *Fran-*
 "cisco *Farnese* Duke of *Parma* and *Placentia*, as
 "by our beloved Sons the Communities and In-
 "habitants of the States of *Parma* and *Placentia*,
 "had no Effect to the averting of those Evils;
 "though the principal Ground of those Rea-
 "sons was, That the Dutchy itself, and its
 "fore-

“ forementioned Places, were mediately subject,
 “ even in Temporals, to Us and this Holy See,
 “ and therefore ought to be wholly Exempt and
 “ Free from all such Impositions and Burthens ;
 “ at length, in the subsequent Month of *Decem-*
 “ *ber*, the foresaid Communities and Inhabitants
 “ consenting, (who nevertheless were compell’d
 “ by Force and Necessity, and who protested,
 “ that what they did was from no other Motive,
 “ than the avoiding imminent and heavier Da-
 “ mages, and Duke *Francisco* himself yielding
 “ thereto for the same Reasons,) a certain
 “ Agreement was made upon the foremention’d
 “ Matters, in Ten Heads or Articles.

“ Now tho’ the aforesaid Agreement (which
 “ we thought fit to cause to be inserted in these
 “ Presents, not as approving, but as intirely
 “ and absolutely condemning it, as being ma-
 “ nifestly injurious to our Rights and those of
 “ the said See, and to the direct and supreme
 “ Dominion which we and the holy *Roman*
 “ Church justly claim in the abovemention’d
 “ Dutchy) be unquestionably of no manner of
 “ Force and Consequence in Law ; and tho’
 “ besides ’tis well known, that our Predecessor,
 “ Pope *Urban VIII.* of happy Memory, did by
 “ certain Letters dated the 5th of *June*, 1641,
 “ sufficiently provide for the Security of the
 “ Rights of the foresaid Apostolical See and *Ro-*
 “ *man* Church from any Prejudices of this Na-
 “ ture ; and therefore there was no need at
 “ all of a further Declaration, to inform the
 “ World that this Agreement ought to be ac-
 “ counted null, void, and invalid ; yet when
 “ the Matter was brought before us on Occa-
 “ sion of asking our good Pleasure touching

" what is stipulated in the ninth Head or Article
 " of the said Agreement, in relation to the
 " Contingent or Sum of Money to be paid by
 " the Ecclesiastical Persons, as well Secular as
 " Regular, of the foresaid Dutchy. We, by re-
 " fusing our Consent to it, declar'd not ob-
 " scurely, that the abovemention'd Agreement
 " could not be allow'd by us, but ought ever
 " to be disapprov'd and condemn'd; nay more,
 " revolving in our Mind how direful, and to all
 " humane Powers terrible, Censures and Punish-
 " ments, the Canonical Sanctions establiſh'd by
 " the Spirit of God appoint, and what dreadful
 " Imprecations the Church yearly denounces
 " against those who violate the Ecclesiasticks,
 " or dare to do them Damage, or to lay upon
 " them Burthens forbidden by Divine and Hu-
 " mane Laws, We did by our Letters to the
 " said Duke *Francisco*, written with our own
 " Hand the 5th of *January* last, plainly signi-
 " fie, That all those who had rashly presum'd
 " actually to invade the foresaid Places, and to
 " molest and disturb them, and the supreme
 " Jurisdiction which We and the holy *Roman*
 " Church have in them, had incur'd the fore-
 " mention'd Censures and Punishments, which
 " should in no wise be remitted or dispens'd with
 " by Us: Hoping this Intimation would be a-
 " bundantly sufficient to prevail with those Trans-
 " gressors to return to their Duty, and that we
 " should not be constrained to proceed more o-
 " penly to Severities.
 " But, as we are inform'd, not only those our
 " Endeavours did not produce the desir'd Effect,
 " but what is most to be lamented, the foresaid
 " Eccle-

“ Ecclesiastical Persons, both Secular and Regular, justly refusing to pay the Contingent or Sum of Money stipulated by the above mention’d ninth Head or Article, because the necessary Consent thereto of Us and of the said See was not only not granted, but as is said above, was expressly refused by Us ; with unheard of, and detestable Audaciousness, several Troops of Soldiers were quarter’d upon the Houses, Farms and Estates, of the said Ecclesiastical Persons, there to remain at the Expence of those Persons, ’till they being tired out should really and actually pay the Rate or Contingent above mention’d : Now these Things, which no well-minded Persons can bear to hear related without the greatest Horror and Grief, amount to such a Violation of the Ecclesiastical Liberty, Immunity and Jurisdiction, as can by no means be endur’d.

“ Hence it is, that We, who have experienc’d that all the Offices of Paternal Tenderness, which we were solicitously careful to employ, were vain and fruitless, and who are constituted by the Lord, and bound by the Duty of our Pastoral Office confer’d on us from Above, to assert on Earth all Rights whatever, belonging to the said *Roman* or other inferior Churches, and to all Persons and Possessions Ecclesiastical ; tho’ we doubt not our Venerable Brethren the Bishops of those Parts, whose Zeal we have not omitted to incite, will strenuously and courageously discharge, and, perhaps have already discharg’d the Duty of their Office in this Affair ; and tho’, besides, we do assuredly believe, that such wicked Actions of their Troops, and their more wicked

“ ked

"ked Counsels, are very contrary to the most
 "equitable Disposition of our dearest Son in
 "Christ, *Joseph*, King of the *Romans*, Elected
 "Emperour: Nay more, do hope he will, as
 "all Justice requires, deal severely with such as
 "have been guilty of those Actions: Never-
 "theless, lest being longer silent in so great an
 "Affliction of the Church; and lest, while the
 "Priests, the Ministers of the Lord, are weep-
 "ing between the Porch and the Altar, and
 "saying, *Lord, spare thy People, and make not thine*
 "*Inheritance a Reproach*, We should seem to be su-
 "pine and slothful, and to be wanting to the
 "Duty incumbent on our Apostolical Office;
 "and by too much Long-suffering incur the Im-
 "putation of betraying the Ecclesiastical Li-
 "berty, and of basely deserting the Cause of
 "God; lifting up our selves in the Lord, and
 "being mindful as well of our Predecessor Pope
 "*Urban*, as following the Steps of Pope *Leo X.*
 "of happy Memory, our Predecessor likewise,
 "who by a certain Constitution publish'd the 8th
 "of the Kalends of *June*, in the Year 1515,
 "Excommunicated, Anathematiz'd, and Stab'd
 "with the Sword of Malediction and of Eter-
 "nal Damnation, all Persons, even such as were
 "worthy to be mention'd particularly and dis-
 "tinctly, who had invaded the Cities, Terri-
 "tories and Places mediately or immediately
 "belonging to the said *Roman Church*, but es-
 "pecially the Cities of *Parma* and *Placencia*;
 "adhering firmly besides to the Apostolical Let-
 "ters, and particularly to the 18th and 20th
 "Canons of those Letters, which several *Roman*
 "Pontiffs, our Predecessors, have caus'd to be
 "read and promulgated in *die Cane Domini*, and
 "which

“ which we in like manner have every Year
 “ caus’d to be read and promulgated. From
 “ our own meer Notion, certain Knowledge,
 “ and mature Deliberation, and out of the Ful-
 “ ness of our Apostolical Power, We do, by the
 “ Tenor of these Presents, declare the Agree-
 “ ment above inserted, all its Articles and Heads,
 “ with all and singular the Contents of them,
 “ or any of them, and the Consequences that are
 “ or may be deduc’d from them, to be *ipso Jure*
 “ Null, Void, Invalid, Unjust, Condemned,
 “ Disapproved and Vain ; to have been from
 “ the Beginning, to be now, and to be for ever
 “ hereafter, Void of all manner of Force or
 “ Effect ; and that no Person is bound to ob-
 “ serve them, or either of them, even though
 “ they be corroborated by an Oath ; That they
 “ neither can nor ought to be observed by any ;
 “ That no Right, Action, Title, or Colour of
 “ Title, or Cause of Possession, or Prescription,
 “ was, is, or at any time can be acquir’d or
 “ claim’d from them ; but that, as if they had
 “ never been published or made, they ought
 “ absolutely to be taken for Things not done,
 “ nor existing. Nevertheless, for greater Pre-
 “ caution, and as far as Need requires, we do
 “ from the same our own meer Motion, Know-
 “ ledge, Deliberation, and plenary Power, con-
 “ demn, disallow, cass, make void, annul all and
 “ singular of them, and intirely and altogether
 “ evacuate them of all Force and Effect.

“ We will and decree likewise, that the Cen-
 “ sures and Ecclesiastical Penalties, which all
 “ those who perpetrated the Premises have in-
 “ cur’d, and are to be or perhaps have been de-
 “ nounced against them openly and publicly
 “ ac-

“ according to Custom, pursuant to our Orders
“ to the foresaid Bishops, shall be valid and
“ stand good, as well against those who in any
“ wise were guilty of the Premises by presum-
“ ing to invade, molest, and by the foremen-
“ tion’d Methods, disturb the Territories and
“ Places of the abovemention’d Dutchy, as
“ those who laid and impos’d the foresaid Bur-
“ thens and Oppressions on the Persons and
“ Estates of the Clergy of that Dutchy, either
“ by themselves or others, directly or indirectly,
“ together with their Adherents, Bawtors and
“ Abettors, and all such who gave them Aid,
“ Counsel, or Favour in any Manner, how Illus-
“ trious soever their Rank or Dignity may be;
“ who, when they shall have made due Restitu-
“ tion for the Damages they have done, and given
“ condign Satisfaction besides to the Church,
“ shall yet no otherwise be absolved, and dis-
“ charged from the said Censures and Penalties,
“ than by Us, or the *Roman* Pontiff for the
“ Time being, except at the Point of Death,
“ nor then, unless they give sufficient Caution to
“ obey and satisfy the Commands of the
“ Church; and they shall revert into the same
“ Condition as before, if they happen to Re-
“ cover.

“ We decree likewise, That these Presents,
“ and whatever is therein contain’d, can in no
“ wise be excepted against, impugn’d, invalida-
“ ted, revers’d, call’d in Question, or examin’d
“ by Terms of Law; tho’ it should be alledg’d,
“ that the foremention’d Persons, and all others
“ interested in the Premises, or in any manner
“ pretending to have Interest, even tho’ they be
“ worthy of special and particular Mention,
“ did

“ did not consent thereto, nor were summon’d,
 “ cited, or heard; or, that the Causes for
 “ which these Presents were issued were not suf-
 “ ficiently enumerated, made out, or in any
 “ manner justify’d; neither for any Cause, Co-
 “ lour or Pretext whatever, or for any Article
 “ or Sense contain’d in the Body of the Law,
 “ shall these Proceedings ever be charg’d with any
 “ Error of Subreption, or Obreption, Nullity
 “ or Invalidity, Defect of our Intention, or
 “ of the Consent of those who are or pretend
 “ to be concern’d; nor with any other Error,
 “ how great, how unthought of, or, how un-
 “ imaginable soever, arising from any Reason,
 “ Right, Fact, Statute, Custom or Privilege
 “ whatever: But these Presents shall be and re-
 “ main for ever firm, valid, and effectual; and
 “ shall have and obtain their full and entire
 “ effect; and be inviolably observ’d by all and
 “ singular Persons, whom it does or shall at any
 “ Time concern. And thus, and no otherwise
 “ shall it be adjudg’d and decided, touching all
 “ and singular the Premises, by all Judges, ordi-
 “ nary and delegated, even the Auditors of the
 “ Causes of the Apostolical Palace, and the Car-
 “ dinals of the Holy Roman Church, even the
 “ Legates *de Latere*, and the Nuncios of the
 “ foresaid Apostolical See, and all others what-
 “ ever Preeminence and Power they are or shall
 “ be vested with; taking from them, and every
 “ one of them, all Power and Authority of
 “ judging and interpreting in any other Man-
 “ ner; and declaring whatever any Person shall,
 “ by any Authority, happen to attempt con-
 “ trary hereunto, either knowingly or ignorant-
 “ ly, to be void and of no Effect.

†

“ The

“ The Premisses, the general and particular
 “ Constitutions and Ordinances pass’d in the
 “ Apostolical, Universal, Provincial, or Syno-
 “ dical Councils ; and, as far as is needful, our
 “ own and the Apostolical Chancery’s Rule, of
 “ not taking away any acquir’d Right ; the
 “ Laws, both Imperial and Municipal ; all Sta-
 “ tutes and Customs immemorial, tho’ corroborat-
 “ ed by Oath, Apostolical Confirmation, or
 “ any other way authoriz’d ; all Privileges, In-
 “ dulgences and Apostolical Letters, granted to
 “ whatever Persons, how eminent soever in
 “ Dignity, and deserving most particular Men-
 “ tion, in whatever Tenor and Form of Words,
 “ and with whatever Derogations of Deroga-
 “ tions, or other more effectual, most effectual,
 “ unusual and annulling Clauses ; and all other
 “ Decrees, though proceeding from like Motion,
 “ Knowledge, and plenary Power ; and, in
 “ Consistory or otherwise, granted, issued, made,
 “ and several times reiterated, and how often
 “ soever approv’d, confirm’d and renew’d, con-
 “ trary to the Premisses, **NOTWITH-**
 “ **STANDING.** From all and singular of
 “ which, though for sufficiently derogating from
 “ them and their whole Tenor, special, parti-
 “ cular, express, and distinct Mention, Word
 “ for Word, and not in general Clauses impor-
 “ ting the same be not made ; or though any
 “ other Expression, or peculiar Form to that
 “ Purpose ought to have been us’d ; deeming
 “ such like Contents to be as fully and sufficient-
 “ ly express’d and inserted in these Presents, as
 “ if they had been duly express’d Word for
 “ Word, without any Omission, and in the
 “ usual Form, We do, leaving such Expression
 “ and

Cardinal ALBERONI. 31

“ and Form in full Force in all other Cases, for
“ this Time only, that the Premises may take
“ effect, expressly and particularly derogate, and
“ will and declare to be derogated, as well as from
“ all and every other Thing contrary hereunto.

“ Our Will further is, that two Extracts, or
“ Copies of these Presents, even printed, if sub-
“ scribed by the Hand of a Publick Notary,
“ and corroborated with the Seal of a Person
“ distinguish’d by an Ecclesiastical Dignity, the
“ same Credit shall be given in all Places and
“ Nations, as well in as out of Courts of Ju-
“ dicature, as would be given to these Presents,
“ if they were produc’d or exhibited in the
“ Original.

*Dated at Rome, in Maria Maggiore, under the
Seal of the Fisherman, the 27th of July, 1707.
Of our Pontificate the 7th Year.*

F. OLIVERIUS.

The Emperor oppos’d this thundering Bull
with the following Manifesto, which sets the
Imperial Pretensions to the said Dominions of
the Dukes of *Parma* in their full Light.



JOSEPH, *by the Divine Clemency, elected Emperor of the Romans, always August; King of Germany, Hungary, Bohemia, Dalmatia, Croatia, Sclavonia, &c. Archduke of Austria; Duke of Burgundy, Brabant, Stiria, Carinthia, Carniola, &c. Marquis of Moravia; Duke of Luxemburgh, Upper and Lower Silesia, Wirtemburgh, Teck; Prince of Swabia; Count of Hapsburgh, Tyrol, Pfirrh, Kyburgh, Goritz; Landgrave of Alsace; Marquis of the Sacred Roman Empire, of Burgaw, Upper and Lower Lusace; Lord of the Sclavonian Marches, &c.*

“ **T**IS so well known to all Men, and demonstrable from the Course of Affairs in a few Years past, with what extraordinary Care, Labour and Expence, the Enemy were expell’d *Italy*, and the Liberty of that Country, which was oppress’d by *French* Power, happily restor’d by the victorious Arms of Us and our Allies; that we were fully perswaded there could not be one Prince or State in all *Italy*, who would suppress his Joy for it, and be averse to make deserv’d Returns of Affection and Gratitude to Us.

“ But we are now constrain’d to take Notice, not without being deeply affected with Grief, that the Ministers of the Court of *Rome* have been so far misled, either by Disaffection to Us, or by Views of some private Advantages to themselves, as to have taken upon them,
“ to

“ to the Astonishment of all the World, and to
 “ the Scandal of Christendom, to exercise Spi-
 “ ritual Authority in Secular Affairs, and to
 “ publish a printed Declaration of the following
 “ Tenour.

“ Declaration of the Nullity of a certain
 “ Agreement made in prejudice of the Aposto-
 “ lic See, and the Holy Roman Church, touch-
 “ ing the Winter Quarters which the German
 “ Troops have taken in the Dutchy of Parma
 “ and Placentia, the Ecclesiastical Censures re-
 “ serv’d in the said See, incur’d by those, who
 “ have on this Occasion, in any manner what-
 “ soever, invaded the Places of the said
 “ Dutchies, and charg’d the Estates of Ecclesi-
 “ astical Persons in the said Dutchy remaining
 “ entire.

*From the Printing-House of the Reverend Aposto-
 “ lical Chamber at Rome, MDCCVII.*

Here the Emperor repeats the Pope’s Bull,
 and then proceeds.

“ Upon mature Consideration of the recited
 “ Declaration, and of all and singular the
 “ Clauses therein contained, we cannot but be
 “ extremely concern’d to find, that, among
 “ other things, the Court of Rome should, by
 “ arrogating to themselves a Sovereignty, as of
 “ right belonging to them, pretend to abolish
 “ the most ancient Rights of Us and the Roman
 “ Empire in Italy, together with the Rights
 “ thence accruing to the Dutchy of Milan, over
 “ Parma and Placentia. When from the current
 “ Tenour of History, and from the Grants of

“ the Investitures given by our Predecessors, the
 “ *Roman* Emperors, as well as from other pub-
 “ lick Instruments, 'tis most apparent, that the
 “ direct, supreme, and sovereign Dominion over
 “ the said *Parma* and *Placentia* rightfully belongs
 “ to no other than to Us, and the sacred *Roman*
 “ Empire; and that the lawful Possessors of the
 “ Dutchy of *Milan* are invested therewith. 'Tis
 “ certain it cannot be shewn, that this direct
 “ and supreme Dominion, and reserved Sove-
 “ raignty, was ever renounc'd by any Emperor;
 “ or that without the express Consent of the
 “ Emperor and Empire it could be renounc'd,
 “ transfer'd, or alienated by the Dukes of *Milan*,
 “ much less be validly assum'd by the Court of
 “ *Rome*; or be legally acknowledg'd by the
 “ Dukes of *Parma* to be in that Court. Many
 “ Historians testify this, and at the same time
 “ relate particularly, and at large, what has
 “ been constantly done in this Matter, for asser-
 “ ting and preserving the Imperial Rights. Nor
 “ need those who are well inform'd of publick
 “ Affairs be told, how strenuously our Prede-
 “ cessors, and particularly *Charles V.* of glorious
 “ Memory, maintain'd and asserted his own
 “ and the Empire's Rights, not only in the
 “ Course of his Life, but in the Preamble of
 “ his last Will. And besides, 'tis sufficiently
 “ known, that the Imperial Rights are so incor-
 “ porated with those of the Empire, that they
 “ can by no Means be divided from it, without
 “ the Consent of all its Members, much less
 “ against their Consent, be wrested and separa-
 “ ted from it by Pontifical Bulls, tho' big with
 “ never so great Threats of Fulmination.

“ The

" The Attempts therefore of the Popes, men-
 " tion'd in the above-recited Declaration, to
 " assume to themselves a Power of judging in
 " their own Cause, and by Vertue of such kind
 " of Bulls, to arrogate to themselves the Rights
 " of a third Person, were vain, and hardly de-
 " serv'd to be answer'd otherwise than by Con-
 " tempt. And, indeed, it cannot well be ima-
 " gin'd what the Court of *Rome* could mean,
 " when they affirm'd, in the foresaid Declara-
 " tion, that our Troops had invaded the Lands
 " of the Church, when they knew, or, at least,
 " ought to have known, that they were Fees
 " belonging to Us, and the Empire, on which
 " those Troops were quarter'd; and that the
 " Law of Nature and Nations does so far al-
 " low them necessary Subsistence, that even in a
 " neutral Territory they might justly demand
 " and take Provisions, when for that Subsistence
 " those who furnish it are defended and preserv'd
 " from greater hostile Damage and Danger:
 " No Man can be ignorant that those Circum-
 " stances happen'd in this Case, and that, acceor-
 " ding to the Canons, Laws, and Reason of
 " State, the Clergy themselves are oblig'd,
 " for maintaining Peace and Liberty, to share
 " the common Burthens, especially in that Pro-
 " vince, where this antient Custom of contribut-
 " ing in common to the Military Expences has
 " been always observ'd, and where the Clergy
 " of *Parma* have such large Possessions, that
 " more than a fourth Part of the whole Duchy
 " is in their Hands. It ill became the Clergy
 " therefore, who abound in all Affluence, while
 " the rest of the People are indigent, to shew
 " themselves so tenacious of their Money; to

“refuse, tho’ earnestly solicited, by our Impe-
 “rial Commissioner, to part with a Penny, in
 “concurrence with the Laity; and to persist re-
 “fractorily and obstinately in their Resolution,
 “notwithstanding our said Commissioner gave
 “an illustrious Proof of Reverence for the Holy
 “See, by inserting in the Agreement he con-
 “cluded, that the Pope should have the Honour
 “of giving his Consent to the Sums stipulated
 “for the common Necessity and Benefit.

“These, and many other Steps, which we
 “carefully and justly caus’d to be taken in the
 “Proceedings on our Part, are such pregnant
 “Instances of our Equity, and of the lawful
 “Exercise of our Imperial Office, that we are
 “not able to comprehend from what Spring or
 “Claim of Right those violent Spiritual Cen-
 “sures, express’d in the foremention’d Declara-
 “tion, were so rashly emitted. We did what
 “our own Rights, and those of the Empire, re-
 “quir’d of Us; and We did it in that Manner
 “which the Constitutions and Usages of the
 “Empire prescribe, and the singular Regard,
 “which, without any private Views, we bear
 “towards the common Father of Christendom,
 “and the Apostolical See, seem’d to require; as
 “is abundantly manifest, from the several Ne-
 “gotiations of Cardinal *Grimani*, both for ob-
 “taining the superfluous Assent of the Pope,
 “and representing the Abuse of Ecclesiastical
 “Authority, so hastily and injuriously exer-
 “cis’d.

“We see Examples of the Court of *Rome*’s
 “Behaviour in the like Case, of Taxes and
 “Contributions laid on the Clergy, and observe
 “them to carry themselves in a very different
 “Manner

“Manner towards our Enemies; tho’, as Disturbers of the common Liberty of *Europe*, they deserve no Favour; and yet, to them, that Court do either immediately give their Assent, tho’ often against common Justice, or do so indulge and connive at their Extortions, that the partial Animosity with which we are attack’d, in the Sight of all the World, with the utmost License, and our own and the Empire’s Rights, by Speech, Printing, and open Facts, contested, would long ago have excited Us to shew our Resentment, had not the innate Goodness of the House of *Austria*, and other Considerations, with respect to Holy Church, prevented Us. And we would willingly continue yet further to manifest our Patience, however provok’d from the Beginning of our Imperial Reign, were any longer Forbearance to vindicate our own Rights, and the Rights of the Empire, excusable, or could We in so doing be justified to God and to Posterity. But now, being urg’d to the contrary, by the Laws Divine and Humane, Right, Reason, the Law of Nations, and other Principles of Justice and Piety.

“Having all these for our Support, and being mindful of the Capitulation to which we swore, and of the Imperial Constitutions; having also taken the Advice of our Privy-Counsellors, and of our whole Imperial Aulick Council, and also consulted foreign Theologists, and Men learn’d in the Canon and Civil Laws; in Defence of our own and the Empire’s Rights.

“We declare, that the above inserted Declaration is void, null, and of no Effect; and

" that the Excommunication therein express'd,
 " or any other of the like Nature, that is or
 " can be pretended, ought to be deem'd invalid,
 " there being no Grounds for it, because it evi-
 " dently appears to have been, and to be de-
 " ficient of the Causes requisite, namely, mor-
 " tal Sin, Contumacy in a notorious Error, pre-
 " vious Citation of the Persons concern'd, &c.
 " and because the Declaration of the Court of
 " *Rome* appears as evidently not to tend to the
 " Defence of the Lord's Inheritance, but to the
 " absolute Usurpation of the Imperial Rights
 " over the Dutchies of *Parma* and *Placentia*.

" And forasmuch as 'tis the Opinion of the
 " Holy Fathers and Councils, that the Censures
 " of the Church are not tremendous to those on
 " whom, but to those by whom they are unjustly
 " inflicted, We leave it to Almighty God, the
 " Judge of all Flesh, and Searcher of Hearts,
 " and to every unbiass'd Man, to weigh and
 " determine, what Judgment ought to be made
 " of the Complaint of the Clergy, who stop'd
 " their Ears, when the Enemies of Us, and the
 " Sacred *Roman* Empire, did, in the Provinces
 " of *Germany* and *Italy*, and even in the Pope's
 " Territories, oppress at their Discretion, and
 " barbarously misuse the Ministers of God and
 " the Church; but rose up with Outrage against
 " Us, and the most Serene and Potent Prince
 " *Charles III*, King of *Spain*, against the King-
 " dom of *Naples*, and the Duke of *Savoy*, as soon
 " as ever the Favour of Heaven shone so prof-
 " perously on our just Cause, that *Naples*, with
 " the other Parts of oppress'd *Italy*, and the
 " *Spanish Netherlands*, were miraculously wres-
 "

“ted out of the powerful Hands of our Enemies.

“Further, for the perpetual Memory of the Thing, we do by Virtue of these Presents declare, and most effectually, so far as is needful, protest, that no Right whatever, much less the direct and supream Dominion over *Parma* and *Placentia*, has been or can be yielded by Us to the *Roman* See; but that on the contrary, we firmly reserve and confirm to Ourselves and the Sacred *Roman* Empire, in the best Form and Manner, all and singular the Supream Dominions, by whatever Name they are call’d, which, to the Prejudice of our Predecessors and Us, have ever been, or are now usurp’d; Annulling, abolishing, casting, all unlawful Possessions and Pretensions, except such as out of the Imperial Generosity and Munificence have been expressly transfer’d to the foresaid See; and declaring them to be null, unjust, and invalid, the more because whatever has by any Colour of separate Authority been publickly or privately taken from the Imperial Majesty, or could not be alienated by the Emperor himself without the due Forms, does of course fall to the Ground.

“In like Manner we do most solemnly and particularly deny the pretended Power of the Court of *Rome* over the Rights and Secular Estates of a third Person, and which the Pontifical Bulls presume to exercise; seeing those Bulls are neither valid in this Respect, nor so receiv’d, by whatever Names they are dignified; and neither can nor ought to bind Us and the *Roman* Empire: Nor do We admit, or can

“ We allow any such Power in the foremen-
 “ tion’d Court, as that by which they attempt
 “ to cass or annull what We by Virtue of our
 “ Imperial Office and Authority dispose and
 “ ordain. Not doubting but the Diet of the
 “ whole Empire, and all its Electors Princes,
 “ States, Vassals and Subjects, will adhere to
 “ Us effectually with their Advice and Assis-
 “ tance, when the Exigency and Circumstances
 “ of Affairs require.

“ We do again therefore, with a clear Mind,
 “ and upon sound and mature Advice, and in
 “ the Plenitude of our Imperial Power, by these
 “ Presents publicly declare, contradict, abolish,
 “ cass, and protest all that is before specified,
 “ in the most solemn Form and Manner possible,
 “ annulling and adjudging to be void and unjust,
 “ whatever in the fore-recited Declaration, either
 “ in the Form or Matter of it, is express’d or may
 “ seem to be meant to the Prejudice of our own
 “ Rights and those of the Sacred *Roman* Empire,
 “ or even to the Prejudice of our Ministers,
 “ Commissioners, Soldiers, or other Persons
 “ whatsoever.

“ We forbid likewise all and singular Eccle-
 “ siastical and Secular Vassals, Ministers, and
 “ Subjects of Us and the Empire, whether in
 “ the Territories of the Church, the Dutchies
 “ of *Parma* and *Placentia*, or elsewhere, on the
 “ Penalty of incurring the heaviest Indignation
 “ of Us and the Empire, Confiscation of Estate,
 “ and corporal Punishment, to have any regard
 “ in any Case to any thing contain’d in the fore-
 “ said Declaration; promising our Imperial
 “ Protection and Clemency to the Faithful and

“ Obe-

“ Obedient : And therefore we shall in due Manner warn the Duke of *Parma*, to acknowledge, with respect to *Parma* and *Placentia*, no other Dominion than that of Us and of the said King of *Spain* our dearest Brother, as being the lawful Lords and Possessors respectively of the Dutchy of *Milan* ; the rather because 'tis evident on other Accounts that he is justly bound to be responsible to Us for our own and the Sacred *Roman* Empire's Rights.

“ Lastly, we beseech the Almighty and just God, to endue all Mankind with an ardent and sincere Love of honest, faithful, and perpetual Peace and Concord ; and to grant to Us his Grace, to enable Us to defend with Constancy and Fortitude whatever belongs to Us and the Sacred Empire ; acknowledging with most humble Gratitude, that whatever is *Cæsar's* came from the Divine Majesty ; and professing by this publick Declaration, and repeated Protestation and Reservation, relating to the Temporal Possessions and Rights of the Empire, that nothing can belong to any Person whatever, except what has been confirm'd to them by the expresse Consent of our Predecessors and of the Empire ; and particularly that no Person can rightfully have, claim, or assume, any Supream Temporal Dominion belonging to the said Empire. Declaring in the most solemn, firm, and effectual Manner possible, all and singular Things, done or thought to be done to the contrary, to be void and null, now as then, then as now, and for ever ; by Virtue of these Pre-

“ sents,

"sents, subscrib'd with our own Hand, and
"corroborated with our own Imperial Seal.

*Done in our City of Vienna the 26th Day of
June in the Year of our Lord 1708, the 19th
of our Roman, the 21st of our Hungarian,
and the 4th of our Bohemian Reign.*

JOSEPHUS.

(L. S.) Vt. Frid. Car. Count. de Schoenborn.

By the express Command of his Sacred Imperial Majesty.

Fr. Win. de Bertram.

It was thought proper to publish the two Pieces above inserted, because Recourse must be had to them hereafter for explaining the Sentiments of *Alberoni* and King *Philip*, when the Emperor offers the latter the Investiture of the Dominions of *Parma*. We return to *Alberoni*.

When the Duke of *Vendosme* return'd to *France*, he took his dear Abbot along with him to Court, where his Character was well known before. The Duke took the first Opportunity to recommend him to the King, and excited the Monarch's Curiosity to see him. In a Word, *Alberoni* was introduc'd by his Patron to that Great Prince, who receiv'd him very graciously.

Marshal *Villeroy* had no better Success in *Flanders* than in *Italy*, yet his Misfortunes serv'd only to make a greater Discovery of his Most Christian Majesty's high Esteem for him, and the perfect Confidence he repos'd in him; and these

these too seem'd to increase more and more, which was as honourable for the Monarch as the Favourite. The Duke of *Vendosm* being sent into the *Neitherlands*, to command the Troops which were put into Disorder by their last Defeat, and to re-establish Things upon a good Footing, had need of all the Skill he was Master of; and therefore resolv'd to gain as much Time as he could, being convinc'd that he ought to run no Risque, and that he need only Encamp and Decamp, in order to cover the Frontiers and baffle all the Designs of his Enemies. He got clear of all Dangers, and without receding from the Plan he had laid, the Campaign was ended, and the Duke of *Vendosm* was said to have acquitted himself like an able General.

The King, who was as generous to the Officers whom Fortune frown'd on, as he was just to those on whom she smil'd, gave the Duke of *Vendosm* shining Marks of his Esteem and Good Will; and his Highness was as ready to give Abbot *Alberoni* a share therein; for he presented him to the King, with a Recommendation suitable to the Esteem he had for him, setting him forth as a Person of a superior Genius, and capable of the greatest Trusts; and he thought it was no Diminution, either of his own Honour, or of the Gratitude which the King return'd him for his good Conduct, to confess that he ow'd his good Fortune to the judicious Councils of his Dear Abbot; which Illustrious Testimony of his Merit, paid by a Prince so judicious and clear sighted, gain'd the Abbot the Esteem of that Monarch, who generously granted him a considerable Pension.

Thus

Thus stood the Fortune of Abbot *Alberoni* towards the end of the Year 1707. Next Year he return'd into *Flanders* with his Patron; but then was not the Time to assist him with his Councils, for the Duke of *Vendosm* had with him the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Berry*, who would have all Things done as they listed; but the Campaign was so fatal to the Cause of the two Crowns, by the Loss of *Lisle*, *Bruges* and *Ghent*; the Retreat of the Duke of *Bavaria* from *Brussels*; the Excursions of the Confederate Parties as far as the Frontiers of *Picardy*, where they settled Contributions; and lastly, by the Return of the Pretender from his unsuccessful Attempt upon *Scotland*; that the King of *France* began to be in earnest for a Peace, and for that purpose sent one of his principal Ministers to the *Hague*, where were present the Ministers of all the Powers then at War against *France* and *Spain*.

During this *Alberoni* kept close with the Duke of *Vendosm*, who retir'd to his Castle of *Anet*, yielding his Post in *Flanders* to the Marshals *de Villars* and *Boufflers*, who, notwithstanding all their Bravery and Experience in the Art of War, were forc'd to leave to Prince *Eugene* and the Duke of *Marlborough* the Glory of this Campaign, which cost *France* the Loss of the famous Battle of *Blavet*, and of the strong Towns of *Tournay* and *Mons*.

King *Philip*, whose Interests his Grandfather pretended last Year to abandon, but rather to sacrifice them to those of *France*, got the better in *Catalonia*, retook the Kingdoms of *Valencia* and *Aragon*, and hem'd up all the Forces of the Archduke and his Allies in the Province of *Catalonia*;

talonia ; where he would have streighten'd them exceedingly, had it not been for M. *Seiffan's* Descent at *Cette*, six Leagues from *Agde*. This Landing of the Enemy in a Province where neither *English*, *Germans*, nor *Dutch*, had been seen for many Ages, spread a general Pannick ; it being reported, that 4000 Men were landed, tho' they were scarce above 7 or 800. The Intendant *Basville* and the Duke of *Roquelaure* dispatch'd an Express immediately into *Roussillon* to the Duke of *Noailles*, who arriv'd two Days after at *Montpellier*, and was follow'd next Day by a Detachment of 1000 Horse, each carrying a Foot Soldier behind, while Troops advanc'd with great Diligence from other Parts to the Relief of *Languedoc*, which was universally alarm'd. Upon this the Enemy's General reembark'd very silently, and put to Sea without the Loss of a Man. This trifling Expedition was the Cause of the Rout at *Almenara* ; for the Duke of *Noailles* being inform'd that the Enemy's Fleet threaten'd a Descent, did not dare to stir in *Roussillon* ; and this gave King *Charles* an Opportunity to reinforce his Army, which was march'd in quest of King *Philip's*. This Prince attributing his ill Fortune to his Generals Want of Experience, sent the King his Grandfather an Account of the Defeat at *Almenara*, and desir'd him to send him the Duke of *Vendosm*. He lost another Battle three Weeks after, under the very Canon of *Saragossa* ; which oblig'd him to send again for the Duke of *Vendosm* ; to which the *French* King consented the sooner, because the Conferences at *Gertruydenberg* being just broke off, he was resolv'd to succour *Spain* effectually ; and indeed, never had his Catholick Majesty
more

more need, for his whole Army was ruin'd by the Loss of above 3000 kill'd, and near 6000 Prisoners. The Allies improving their Victory as much as possible, advanc'd by great Marches towards the Heart of *Castille*; and King *Philip* being in no condition to oppose them, submitted to his Fortune, which seem'd to delight in persecuting him: Therefore, after giving the necessary Orders to carry off all he could from *Madrid*, and to reinforce his Army by Detachments from divers Places, as *Estremadura*, *Galicia*, *Andaloufia*, *Roussillon* and *Guienne*, he abandon'd *Madrid*, and retir'd with the Queen, the Royal Family and Councils, to *Valladolid*, where the Kings his Predecessors had not resided for a long time. What a sad Sight was it to see a Prince so worthy to reign, and so dear to his People, forc'd to fly in Disorder, attended only by a few Loyal Subjects, who sacrific'd their All for a Part in his Troubles and Misfortunes!

King *Philip* had not left *Madrid* above a Week, but General *Stanhope* came and took Possession of the City for King *Charles*, who in a few Days after enter'd it in Triumph. In the mean time the Duke of *Noailles* arriv'd at *Versailles*, where in a Grand Council he gave such a sad Account of the lamentable Condition of the King of *Spain's* Affairs, as confirm'd the most Christian King in his Resolution to send his Grandson a powerful Supply; and accordingly 36 Batallions and 28 Squadrons were detach'd from the Army in *Dauphiny* for *Spain*. The Duke of *Vendosm*, who was appointed to save that Kingdom, arriv'd at *Valladolid*, where he found King *Philip* in the midst of many Discouragements, but yet not despairing. 'Tis so easy

easy to judge how well the Duke was receiv'd, that the Reader need not be told.

As soon as he undertook the Management of Affairs, the whole Scene was chang'd at once. King *Philip* and most of his Council were for drawing a great Detachment from the Army which the Marquess *de Bay* commanded on the Frontiers of *Portugal*, to supply those which were lost at the Battle of *Saragossa*, and the Marquess *de Bay* had already made a Motion towards *Truxillo* to facilitate the March of that Detachment. But the Duke of *Vendosm* was of another Opinion; and wisely judging, that if the *Portuguese* were not kept in Awe, the Army which was with King *Charles* at *Madrid* and *Toledo* might be easily join'd by that in *Estremadura*, he sent Orders to the Marquess *de Bay* to give the *Portuguese* so much Employment, that they might have Reason to reject the Solicitations of King *Charles* and the Confederate Ministers, who were very urgent to be join'd by their whole Army, or at least by a great Detachment from it: But the wise Precaution of the *Spanish* General was the Reason they could obtain neither the one nor the other; and it may be said, 'twas this first Disposition of the Duke *de Vendosm*, that kept King *Philip* on the Throne; for during the time which the Allies spent in soliciting the King of *Portugal*, King *Philip's* Army was reinforc'd by Detachments from *Navarre*, *Valencia*, *Aragon*, *Biscay* and *Roussillon*, and by the Militia, which were rais'd with the utmost Diligence. And now King *Charles* found himself too weak to go and attack this new Army, which was advantageously incamp'd, and commanded by a General who made all his

†

Glory

Glory and Reputation to depend on retrieving the Affairs of a Prince, who did not deserve the ill Treatment he had met with from blind Fortune.

Abbot *Alberoni* naturally lov'd the Noise and Hurry of Arms and a Camp-Life, so that he would certainly have taken this Occasion to follow the Duke of *Vendosm* to *Spain*, though his Attachment to the Person of his illustrious Patron had not drawn him. Fortune, who conducted him by degrees to that high Post he is now arrived at, took care to make him pass thro' the whole Study of Politicks: He learnt the Art of Negotiations under the Count *Roncoveri* at the Duke of *Vendosm's*; and he made himself a compleat Proficient therein, by exercising it himself afterwards, and joining to his Practice all the Reflections which a delicate and penetrating Genius did not fail to suggest him upon all Occasions; and becoming the Favourite of a Prince, as great by his Birth, as by his excellent Qualities, he learnt by Experience what fawning Courtiers were capable of doing; how far by consequence a Minister might give Ear to them; and how much he ought to be on his Guard against their pernicious Flattery: In a Word, under a valiant King, and under a General of consummate Experience, he inform'd himself of all Things relating to War, in what consists the chief Qualification of a good General, on what depends the Success of his Undertakings, which way to turn Events to the best Advantage, how far Resentment ought to be carried against a vanquish'd Enemy, and how People, whose Country happens to be the Seat

of War, ought to be treated in order to engage them to continue faithful to their Prince.

The first Success after the Duke of *Vendosm's* Arrival in *Spain* was the Retreat of King *Charles* and his Allies, who quitted *Madrid* and *Toledo* to recover *Catalonia* : Tho' that Prince was so little a while Master of the Capital of *Castile*, yet it was long enough in his Hands to convince him by sad Experience, that the Hearts of the People were for his Competitor, and that if he had not come as he did at the Head of a Triumphant Army, he would not in all Appearance have had so flattering a Reception. Nevertheless he persuaded himself, that the *Aragonese* and those of the Kingdom of *Valencia* would alter their Sentiments in his Favour, but it was not thought convenient to give him time to try their Fidelity.

Brihuega is a small City of *New Castile*, 12 Leagues from *Madrid* ; which has no Fortification but a strong Wall and an old Castle. The Confederate Army, which was divided into several small Bodies, retir'd by short Marches towards *Aragon*, leaving General *Stanhope* at *Brihuega* with eight Squadrons, and as many Battalions *English*, as well to form a Rear-Guard, as to cover his Retreat. The Duke of *Vendosm*, who was with King *Philip* at *Guadalaxara*, five Leagues from *Brihuega*, being inform'd of this, put himself at the Head of a Detachment of Grenadiers and Cavalry, and march'd to block up the *English*, while King *Philip* advanc'd with the rest of his Army, consisting of 32 Batallions, and 80 Squadrons, as complear and in as good Condition, as if they were just come out of Winter-Quarters. This Army came up just as

E

the

the Duke of *Vendosm* was preparing to attack the Town, which he took Sword in Hand, notwithstanding the brave Resistance of General *Stanhope*, who disputed his Ground from House to House, and from one Street to another. The Garrison had no sooner surrender'd Prisoners of War, but the Duke of *Vendosm* receiv'd certain Advices, that the Count de *Staremburg* was but three Quarters of a League from *Bribuega*. This General being already arriv'd at *Cisuentes* with all the Artillery, and hearing the Danger which the *English* were in, hasten'd immediately to their Assistance, but could not arrive soon enough; and what was worse, could not go back, for if he had attempted it, the Duke of *Vendosm*, who was infinitely superior in all Respects, would not have suffer'd him; therefore making the best of a bad Game, he rang'd his Army, consisting of 36 Battalions and 30 Squadrons into two Lines. The Valour and Intrepidity of this Able General occasion'd the Battle of *Villa Viciosa*, or rather *Bribuega*, in the sight of which Town it was fought. Both Sides pretended to the Victory, insomuch that 'tis said of the Count de *Staremburg*, that he lost the Battle without being beaten; and of the Duke of *Vendosm*, that he gain'd a Victory which cost more than a Defeat. Be that as it will, the Allies retir'd, and continued their Rout towards *Arragon*, where they did not stay long; while the Prisoners taken at *Bribuega* were carried to most of the Towns in the Hands of King *Philip*.

While the Duke of *Vendosm* was thus happily retrieving King *Philip's* Affairs, he did not leave Abbot *Alberoni* altogether unemploy'd; for know-
ing

ing his Talent of Insinuation and Persuasion, he sent him to the several Cities of the Kingdoms of *Valencia* and *Arragon*, to sift the Dispositions of the People, and to confirm those in their Loyalty whom he found to be wavering: *Alberoni* discharg'd his Commission so well, as fully answer'd the Duke's Wishes; for it must be own'd, that 'twas to his cunning Insinuations, to his nice Inquiries, and to his pressing Solicitations, that King *Philip* owes the Preservation of part of *Arragon* and the Kingdom of *Valencia*, where King *Charles* had so many Emissaries, who us'd all Ways and Means to incline the Inhabitants (who are naturally changeable and fond of new Masters) to a Revolt, that he would undoubtedly have made a fatal Breach in the Duke of *Vendosm*'s Designs.

The Duke had gain'd such a large Share of King *Philip*'s Esteem and Confidence, that he had the chief Sway at his Court from the first Moment he arriv'd there; every thing was regulated by his Counsels, and Employs were distributed at his Recommendation. The Princess of *Ursines*, an imperious Favourite, if ever there was one in the World, could not bear to see her Authority in the Hands of another Person, whom she treated as a Stranger, and whenever the Duke of *Vendosm* came to Court, she had some Indisposition at Command, which serv'd as a Colour for her Absence: And the Duke on the other hand considering, that his Services had justly recommended him to the Preference, tho' he had not deserv'd it by his Birth and Rank, treated her with Indifference, and did not scruple to say of her, *That he thought it strange, the Ad-*

vice of a Woman should be taken in Affairs which it did not belong to a Woman to know.

This Misunderstanding was also to the Advantage of Abbot *Alberoni*; for the Duke his Master having Occasion for a Person whom he could confide in at Court, he introduc'd him there several times, gave him some Commissions which made him known to the King, and like a generous Patron never fail'd to boast to his Majesty of the Services his Favourite had done the Government upon all Occasions.

Fortune, who sports with Mankind, was pleas'd in an Instant to change the Scene of Affairs, by laying two Princes in the Dust, on whose Lives the whole seem'd hitherto to depend. The Small Pox carry'd off the Dauphin and the Emperor *Joseph* almost at one and the same time. The Death of the latter would in all probability disarm the Enemies of King *Philip*, whose Pretence for taking up Arms, and disputing the Monarchy of *Spain* with him, was the Fear of Exorbitant Power, if the two Crowns of *France* and *Spain* should ever come to be united on one Head.

The Reunion of the *Spanish* Monarchy to the Hereditary Countries of *Germany*, to which King *Charles* now became Successor, added to the Imperial Crown, which had been so long as it were annex'd to the House of *Austria*, and which seem'd inseparable from it, as Affairs now stood, without causing greater Troubles; this Reunion, I say, gave Birth to another Fear almost equal to the Apprehension which the Notion of a Reunion of the Kingdoms of *France* and *Spain* had caus'd over all *Europe*, and put the several Potentates upon serious Reflections. In the mean
time

time the ticklish Conjunction of Affairs did not permit the Election of a new Emperour to be delay'd ; and this last Consideration was so important, that it prevail'd over all Inconveniences in the Way, which were then propos'd to be remedied afterward. All the Allies therefore jointly press'd for an Election.

Charles VI, the only surviving Prince of the August House of *Austria*, was chose unanimously, and forthwith invited by the Electors and the whole Empire to come and take Possession of the Imperial Crown, which he did accordingly.

Queen *Anne* was one of the first who enter'd into these Views ; and it appears, by what that Princess did afterwards, that she was so forward to concur with the States General of the United Provinces, in pressing the Election of King *Charles* to the Imperial Crown, for no other End, but because there would be then just Reasons for concluding a War, which had already lasted too long, and cost *England* and their High Mightinesses so much Blood and Treasure. The Court of *France*, always careful to improve every the least Opportunity, was not wanting in this ; she sent out all her Emissaries, and sacrificed the little ready Cash she had left, to give a mortal Stab to the grand Alliance : She succeeded accordingly, and Mr. *Ménager*, tho' no more than a Deputy of Commerce, deserv'd the Title of the Count of *St. John*.

This Revolution, no less astonishing than sudden, chang'd the Face of Affairs in *England* all at once ; for the Tories getting uppermost, kept no Measures, but turn'd the Whigs, their Antagonists, out of all their Places, and found fault with every thing they did. Then they began to

talk openly of Peace; and Messieurs *Menager* and *Prior* appear'd with Lustre on the Theatre of Negotiation: In a word, Queen *Anne* enter'd into all the Views of *France*, subscrib'd all her Preliminaries; and tho' two Years before she broke off the Negotiations for a Peace, because the King of *France* would not take upon himself to expel his Grandson from *Spain*, she now consented, without the least Difficulty, to leave that Prince in quiet Possession of his Crown, after she had intended to dethrone him; and to stop the Mouths of all her Allies, she was satisfy'd with that Prince's Renunciation of the Dominions of *France*.

This was the Plan upon which all the Confederates did at last agree, tho' not without Regret, to send their Plenipotentiaries to *Utrecht*, which the Queen had chose for the Place of Congress. The Ministers, even of King *Philip*, were admitted there after some Difficulties, which were objected only for Form sake, and to give Time to those of *France* and *England*, to regulate most of the Articles, relating to their Monarch.

During these Negotiations, the War was carry'd on with Vigour on all Sides. The Duke of *Vendosm* being inform'd, by the *French* Court, of all that was to be done at *Utrecht*, took all possible Care to improve the good Dispositions of the *English* Ministry, who very frankly abandon'd the Affairs of *Catalonja*. Abbot *Alberoni*, who never left the Duke, was privy to, and had a hand in all Affairs; and 'tis even reported, that 'twas he who inclin'd his Highness to make Peace with the Princess of *Ursines*. But be that as it will, the intriguing Princess shew'd the Abbot some Marks of her Esteem, either with a view
of

of managing him, because of the Influence which he had over the Duke of *Vendosm*; or, knowing the Extent of his Genius and Capacity for the greatest Affairs, to make use of him in some intricate Cases.

Notwithstanding *Alberoni* seem'd to be so much in Favour, even with King *Philip*, that he gave him a very handsome Pension, he had not Interest enough to hinder the Duke of *Parma*, his Sovereign being included in a Decree, which his Catholic Majesty caus'd to be publish'd against the Republics of *Venice*, *Genoa*, and *Lucca*, who, as well as the Duke of *Parma*, had, by solemn Embassies, own'd the new Emperor as King of *Spain*; King *Philip*, by this Decree, forbad all Commerce with their Dominions, and order'd their Ministers to retire. The Decree was notify'd to the Residents of those Powers at his Catholic Majesty's Court, with Orders to depart without Delay. Nevertheless Abbot *Alberoni*, without being in the least dismay'd, undertook to plead the Cause of the Duke of *Parma*; he shew'd the King that tho' the Duke of *Parma*'s Fault was equal to that of the Republic's, in one Sense, yet it did not deserve the same Punishment; that the Proceedings of the Commonwealths were the more blameable, because they had not the least Dependance on the Empire; and that they made such a Figure in *Italy*, that they needed not to fear the new Emperor's Resentment, because the other Allies, if call'd upon, would always protect them from his Indignation; but that the Duke of *Parma* was scarce his own Master; that the Empire form'd Pretensions upon his Dominions; that it was well known he

was not in a Condition, at present, to make Resistance; that he was surrounded by *German Troops*, which threaten'd him on all Sides, and laugh'd at his Protestations, his Recourse to the Holy See, and even the Thunder of the Vatican; and lastly, that if his Majesty would please only to call to Mind what were the Duke's Dispositions, and what he did while the Armies of *France* were in *Italy*, he would be convinc'd, that if the Duke had not been compell'd by a Superior Force, he would never have taken such a Step. These Reasons were so well approv'd, that the Marquess of *Caraili*, the Envoy of *Parma*, was permitted to remain at Court, tho' without a Character.

The Duke of *Vendosm* wisely judging, that if, during the Negotiations at *Utrecht*, a Blow should be struck in *Catalonia* which might weaken the Power of King *Charles*, the same would not fail to have a great Influence on whatever should be concluded there (*Utrecht*) in relation to King *Philip*; undertook the Siege of *Cardona*, a little but strong Town, situate near the Centre of *Catalonia*, 16 Leagues from *Barcelona* and 14 from *Terragona*. He took the Town with ease, but the Castle making more Resistance, the Count de *Staremberg* had Time to come to its Relief; and made his Dispositions with so much Prudence and so *a propos*, that he oblig'd the Count de *Muret*, who commanded at the Siege, to retire from the Place, leaving behind him 2000 of his Men with all their Artillery.

This bad Success put an end to the Campaign, and was closely follow'd by several Events, which tho' very remarkable, we shall only

only hint at them, because our Abbot had no hand in 'em. Of this kind were the Occurrences of the Campaign of 1712 in the *Low-Countries*. All *Europe* was astonish'd at the Conduct of the *English* General who succeeded the Duke of *Marlborough*; and the most refin'd Politicians confess'd their Ignorance when they heard of the Retreat of the *English* Troops, and their abandoning the Confederate Army, who were in a Condition to have carried the Alarm to the very Gates of *Versailles* in that same Campaign; but Queen *Anne*, or rather her Council, was of Opinion, that such Hostilities would do more harm than good in that Juncture, and in their present Views. That Retreat, which will scarce be credited by such as shall read the History of this long and bloody War, was followed with the Rout at *Denain*, and the raising the Siege of *Landrecy*, all which did so raise the dejected Spirits of the Court of *France*, that her Plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht* began to be less tractable than they seem'd at first.

The Deaths of the Duke of *Burgundy*, the new Dauphin, of his Spouse, and of his eldest Son; and the Danger in which was his second, the young Duke of *Anjou*, were Events which were the Cause of as much Mourning and Affliction in *France*, as the Affair of *Denain* administer'd Joy. Abbot *Alberoni* happen'd to be at *Madrid* with the Duke of *Vendosm*, when this sad News was brought thither. The Queen was most sensibly afflicted for the Death of the Dauphiness her Sister, and the King also gave publick Demonstrations how much he regretted the Loss of so worthy a Brother, from whom the whole *French* Nation expected all their future Hap-

Happiness; and without loss of Time his Majesty held a Cabinet Council, to consider what was fit to be done in so nice and important a Conjunction. He was requir'd to renounce, in the strongest and most solemn Form, all his Rights to the Crown of *France* for himself and his Descendants; and provided he would do this, such of the Allies as acted in Concert with *France* after the Death of the Emperor *Joseph*, would let him remain in peaceable Possession of *Spain* and the *Indies*, and offer'd to own him in that Quality. His Majesty well knew that he was belov'd by most of the *Spaniards*; but he saw also on the other hand, that a great Number of the *Grandeess* follow'd the Interest of his Rival; and that he should be oblig'd to treat Cities, Provinces, and entire Kingdoms with the greatest Severity, to make them return to their Duty; lastly, he was sensible of the Difference between ruling *Frenchmen* and *Spaniards*. Besides this, he consider'd that he might leave *Spain* to his Eldest Son; and that after having form'd him a Council of Regency, he might go and enjoy all his Rights in the Crown of *France*. The Duke of *Vendosme* and M. *le Bonac* were the only Persons whom the King call'd to his Cabinet to consult, which of the two Crowns he should chuse: At last he came to a final Resolution; and his Love to his Native Country prevail'd over all the Obligations which he ow'd to the *Spaniards*, who had sacrificed their Lives and Fortunes to maintain him on the Throne, upon which he had so often totter'd; but News arriving on a sudden of the Recovery of the young Duke of *Anjou*, oblig'd the Court

to think of other Things than of his Succession to the Crown of *France*.

Then it was thought necessary to enable his Majesty to act offensively; but upon Assurances from the Court of *France*, that the Queen of *England* had engag'd to procure the Evacuation of *Catalonia*, it was resolv'd to act only on the Defensive, and to hinder the Enemy from making any Progress. The Duke of *Vendosm*, whom the late Changes at the *French* Court had detain'd at *Madrid* longer than usual, set out at length to dispose all Things for opening the Campaign; but before he went, the King, as if he had foreseen that Death would quickly deprive him of the Opportunity of rewarding all the Services of this Great General, invented a very extraordinary Method to shew him his utmost Acknowledgments; and this was by declaring him a Prince of the Blood, and admitting him to all the Honours thereof. This Declaration was made with public Ceremony, and the Duke of *Vendosm* was accordingly put in Possession of the first Rank. Then he took Leave of the Court to the great Satisfaction of several Persons, whose Authority he had been a great Check to. Abbot *Alberoni*, who never left him, arriv'd with him in the Kingdom of *Valentia*, where Providence decreed to put an end to the Glorious Career of this Noble Personage, who was great Grandson to *Henry* the Great, and the last of that Illustrious Family; for he left no Children by the Princess of *Conde*, whom he marry'd before he set out for *Spain*. He dy'd at *Vinaros* the 11th of *June* 1712, universally regretted by the Officers and Soldiers of both Nations, but especially by Abbot *Alberoni*

Alberoni his trusty Favourite, in whose Hands he repos'd his last Will and Testament, fetch'd his last Breath in his Arms, and paid him his last Devoirs, with a Sorrow that may be more easily imagin'd, than I am able to describe. This was the first Shock that *Alberoni* had met with, after Fortune had taken delight to caress him, and therefore 'tis no wonder that it deeply affected him. By this Fatal Stroke he saw all those Hopes, which he thought could not be better establish'd, untwisted in a Moment. Yet, without suffering his Courage to be cast down, he form'd divers Projects, without keeping to one; but being Master of all his Patrons Secrets, he resolv'd to make the best of 'em; and the best Expedient he could think of, was to make his Court thereby to the King of *France*. Therefore he took Post and went directly to *Versailles*, to give the King an Account how the Duke of *Vendosm* had left his Affairs, of the Projects he had form'd, and the Measures he had taken to succeed. The gracious Reception he met with from that Great Prince, gave him Hopes of Encouragement, and confirm'd him in the Opinion he had long entertain'd, that the Duke of *Vendosm* had always spoken well of him to the King. The Dutchess Dowager of *Vendosm* was also highly pleas'd to see the intimate Friend of one who was so dear to her; and as he had given it in Charge to *Alberoni*, to pay her his last Farewel, the Dutchess assur'd him, that he should always find as good a Friend in her, as he had met with in the Duke her Husband. The Satisfaction which the King was pleas'd to express in Abbot *Alberoni's* Conduct, and the obliging Manner with which he receiv'd him, did

did at the same time increase the Number of his Friends, as is the way of all Courts; and those who went to take their Leaves of him before he went for *Spain*, crowded again to his Levee, to assure him of the Continuance of their Friendship, and of their Readiness to serve him upon all Occasions.

Alberoni being always most inviolably attach'd to the Interest of that Prince whose Subject he was by Birth, he did not fail to give the Duke of *Parma* an Account of the State of his Affairs in *Spain*, and of the Dispositions which he left the Court in towards him. His Report, and his own Sentiments on that Head were the better receiv'd by the Duke his Master, because the Marquess *Caraili* had not fail'd to inform the Court of *Parma*, that the Indulgence shew'd him by the Court of *Madrid* in revoking the Order which had been signified to him as well as the Envoys of *Genoa* and *Venice*, to depart his Majesty's Dominions, was to be attributed to the Instances and Negotiations of Abbot *Alberoni*. The Duke of *Parma* being perswaded of *Alberoni's* Influence over the Persons who had most frequent Access to King *Philip*, and over his Majesty too, after the Duke of *Vendosm* had made him known to him in such a Way, as could not but render him most agreeable to his Majesty, was resolv'd to send the Abbot to *Spain*, and to commit the Care of his Interests to him, a Commission which no other Person could discharge better than he.

While the Duke took this into Consideration, the Duke of *Ossuna* was arriv'd at *Paris*, and preparing to set out for the Congress at *Utrecht* on the Part of King *Philip*; tho' there
was

was not the least Necessity for that Minister's being at the Debates, since the *British* Ministry and the Court of *France*, after long and secret Negotiations, had already settled the Interests of King *Philip*, to whom the *British* Ministry was so gracious and complaisant, that they did as it were force the Court of *Vienna* to consent to the Treaty for the Evacuation of *Catalonia*; which was concerted between the Courts of *Madrid*, *Versailles* and *London*: So that the Duke of *Ossuna*, and his Colleague the Marquess de *Monteleone* had scarce any Business at *Utrecht*, but to laugh in their Sleeves at the Conferences of the *French* and *English* Plenipotentiaries, to sign the Treaties, and to scatter the Metal of *Peru*.

Alberoni, who was not out of the Secret, would have been extremely fond of this Opportunity to see this Congress, and to get an Acquaintance with so many illustrious Politicians, as compos'd it. He was known to the Duke of *Ossuna*, and might easily have obtain'd this Favour of him, but he was oblig'd to wait the Orders of his Master the Duke of *Parma*, which at length he receiv'd, and saw with Pleasure, that he was oblig'd by his Commission to return to the Country whither Fortune call'd him. In the mean time the Peace of *Utrecht* was concluded; whereby *Spain* and the *Indies* were to remain to King *Philip*, upon his signing an Authentick Renunciation, drawn up in the most solemn Form, of all his Rights and Pretensions to the Crown of *France*, both for himself and his Descendants for ever.

Thus an End was put to that bloody War, which the Allies enter'd into with no other View but to keep the Crown of *France* from being

being ever set upon that Prince's Head, and which they had carried on, during twelve Years, with an amazing Series of happy Successes, Victories, and Conquests on all Sides. The only Courts, which could not be reconcil'd, were those of *Vienna* and *Madrid*; but to extinguish the Flame of War betwixt them as much as possible, a Treaty was agreed on for the Evacuation of *Catalonia*; whereby the Emperor oblig'd himself to send home the Empress and all the Troops he had beyond Sea, and to deliver up that Principality, with the Kingdom of *Majorca* and the Isle of *Ivica*, to King *Philip*. The Queen of *England* and the King of *France* were Guarantees of its Execution; and the Emperor, with whose Ministers the whole was concerted, tho' secretly, ratify'd it after some Objections made for Form sake. This being done, the Treaty was immediately sent to *Barcelona*, where the *English* Admiral was to see it put in Execution, which is a Point not necessary for us to inquire into here; and as it would be also too great a Digression, we refer the Examination of it to the most leading Men in both Nations.

While the Armies and Fleets of *France* and *Spain* were preparing to reduce the *Catalans* to the Obedience of King *Philip*, the whole Kingdom of *Spain* was all on a sudden plunged in the deepest Sorrow, for a Loss which she then thought could never be sufficiently repair'd.

It was now twelve Years and half that King *Philip* had been marry'd to his Queen, *Maria Louisa Gabriela*, Princess of *Savoy*, and Daughter of his Royal Highness the Duke. The Reign of

of this Princess had been one continual Series of Troubles, which gave her inexpressible Anxiety, and which she nevertheless conceal'd from the Public, with a Greatness of Soul above her Sex ; but humane Nature suffer'd all the while, which render'd her Constitution very sickly, and she contracted a languishing Distemper, which brought her to her Death. Bed the 14th of February 1715, at the Age of 25 Years and half.

By the Troubles that happen'd while she was upon the Throne of *Spain*, she was twice oblig'd to abandon her Royal Palace, and the Capital of her Kingdom, to roam in some distant Province ; she had the Mortification to see the Duke of *Savoy*, her Father, join with those that were Enemies to her tottering Crown ; she was continually regretting the Absence of the King her illustrious Consort, who expos'd himself at the Head of his Armies to the same Dangers as private Soldiers ; nevertheless it must be said, that being hearten'd and assisted by the comfortable and wise Councils of her dear Favourite the Princess of *Ursines*, she alone contributed, more than any Body, to raise the Spirits of her Subjects, which droop'd at the least ill Aspect of Fortune, to keep the Government in Order, and to revive the Zeal and Loyalty of the People. She had a certain Tenderness, which was very natural and general, for all Persons of her own Nation, and readily protected them ; so that we are not to wonder that she confer'd Marks of her Esteem upon Abbot *Alberoni*, who had been such an entire Favourite with the Duke of *Vendosm*, as could not but distinguish him from a vast Number of Quacks, who have
no

no Introducer but a brazen Forehead, and commonly no Qualifications, but a great Stock of Impudence and Ignorance.

Alberoni, who knew all the great Qualities of that Illustrious Princess to Perfection, sincerely lamented her Loss; but like a skilful Politician, who fails not to find his Advantage in the least Events, he soon thought how to make a good Use of this. The first Impressions are generally the strongest and the most difficult to be defac'd; so the first Negotiations, in which Abbot *Alberoni* had been employ'd, were against the House of *Austria*, in Favour of *Spain*; and the Antipathy which he then conceiv'd against that potent Family, increas'd in proportion, as the Interest of *Spain* became dearer to him, and insensibly turn'd into a sort of Hatred, which directed all his Thoughts, Designs and Views.

The Age and Constitution of the Royal Widower, together with the State of his Affairs, made it very reasonable to believe that he could not stay long without a second Match. *Alberoni* being industrious to embarrass the House of *Austria*, and to aggrandize the Duke of *Parma*, his Master, imagin'd that an Alliance between King *Philip* and the *Farnese* Family would furnish his Catholic Majesty with one Opportunity more to revive, and even to improve those Rights, which Endeavours were us'd to strip him of, by the Peace of *Utrecht*, and the Treaty of Evacuation and Neutrality. Fortune, or rather Providence, inspir'd him with this Thought, which, when put in Execution, was to raise him to the highest pitch of humane Grandeur. He first laid down all the Consequences; and spent several Days to digest the

Plan of an Affair so important, in which any other, besides himself, would have found insuperable Difficulties. In short, the Queen dying at a time when there was only one Life, and that a sickly Infant, which kept the King of *Spain* from stepping into the Throne of *France*, King *Philip V* seem'd oblig'd, by good Politics, to court no Alliances, but such as might bring him again in view of a Crown, which he had been oblig'd in the most solemn manner to renounce. On the other hand, the same good Politics prescrib'd the Plan of another Match, which, by procuring a Peace, would have confirm'd the King on his Throne, and restor'd an inviolable Tranquility to his Dominions. This Alliance might have been contracted, even with the House of *Austria*, by the King's marrying the eldest of the Archdutchesses, Daughters to the Emperor *Leopold*; and it may justly be said in this Case, that the Pope, who was ever so strongly attach'd to the Interest of the two Crowns, was abandon'd by his good Genius, since he was more especially concern'd to think of so happy an Expedient as this, from which he wou'd have reap'd one of the greatest Advantages; for *Italy* would not have become the Seat of War; *Sicily* would, from that very Instant, have return'd to the Obedience of *Spain*; so that he would not have had the Trouble of being oblig'd to send forth the terrible Thunder of the Vatican against the *Sicilians*; and, in a Word, he would have been certain of the grateful Returns of two Houses, which he would not only have reconcil'd, but even closely united, after having taken care of their common Interests. The King of *Portugal*, whom it
so

so much concerns to be at good Terms with *Spain*, especially when the latter is at Peace, would certainly have been the Mediator of the said Alliance; because if a Sister of his Queen Consort should come to sit on the Throne of *Spain*, it could not but knit the Ties of a strict Alliance between the two States more strongly than ever.

Alberoni dreaded nothing so much, as to hear of these Thoughts entering into the Head, either of the Holy Father, or the King of *Portugal*; or, indeed, any other Power, who would not have fail'd to play all the secret Springs usual in the like Cases, for the Success of a Project, the Consequences of which would have been so advantageous, not only to the Princes concern'd, but also to all *Europe*. He still discover'd an Obstacle, which naturally seem'd to him insurmountable, and that was the Princess of *Ursines*. This haughty Woman, the distinguish'd Favourite of the late Queen and King, saw her Power so increas'd after the Death of her Mistress, that she thought nothing but the Throne above her. The King declar'd her Governess of the Princes, her Children, which gave her an Opportunity to see the King every Day; and she endeavour'd to mitigate his Sorrow with all the Address natural to Persons of her Sex and Nation; this occasion'd a Report, that lifting her ambitious Views to the Throne, she accommodated herself artfully to the King's Temper, and omitted nothing, that she might insensibly gain her Point: *Alberoni* was one of the first that perceiv'd it, and look'd upon her, from that very Instant, as the greatest Check to his Designs.

After having made all these Reflections, and consider'd his Project in all its Views, he imparted it to the Duke of *Parma* his Master, who, as may easily be imagin'd, readily gave into it. But after some Reflections, he perceiv'd all the Inconveniencies of this Alliance, and the Troubles which it would undoubtedly raise, and therefore resolv'd to keep the Affair close in his Breast, since it was only known to him and the Abbot *Alberoni*.

Cardinal *Giudici*, then Grand Inquisitor of *Spain*, was at the Head of all Affairs; the King relying upon his Abilities, did nothing but by his Advice; and he seem'd to be the first likely Person in the World whom *Alberoni* should make his Court to for securing the Success of his Project. Nevertheless it was resolv'd that he should know nothing of the Matter, till they could not hide it from him any longer; because, as he had been always most intimate with the Princess of *Ursines*, it was to be fear'd, lest they should unite to cross an Affair, the Success of which would be no ways for their Interest; because, as they were acquainted with the King's natural Temper, so they were not ignorant, that to get him another Wife, especially such a one as the Princess of *Parma*, whose Judgment, Vivacity, Knowledge of Affairs, and other eminent Qualities, they very well knew, was to get them a Mistress of Understanding, who might, perhaps, alter their Condition.

Cardinal *Acquaviva*, of the Noble Family of the Dukes of *Atri* in the Kingdom of *Naples*, was then at *Rome*, taking care of the Interests of the Crown of *Spain*; to him they thought they might be frank, and *Alberoni* jointly with the

the Duke did accordingly impart their Design to him, and insinuated to him at the same time, how glorious it would be for him to contribute to the Success of an Affair of such Importance. They found his Eminency in the Dispositions they wish'd for, and he wrote to the Duke and his Agent the Abbot *Alberoni*, what were his Sentiments of the Affair, and which way he thought would be the best to proceed.

The *Farnese* Family deriving its Origin from one of the Sovereign Pontiffs, the Popes have always lov'd them with an Affection truly paternal; so that it was natural to imagine the Holy Father would not fail to approve of a Match betwixt that Family and a Crown'd Head, whose Interests had ever been dearer to him, than consisted with the Rules of good Politicks. It was no less probable, that he would omit nothing for the Success of the Project, because it could not but be very glorious to the Holy See to place the Daughter of one of its Vassals upon a Throne; so that every thing seem'd to promise the Pope's Approbation and Concurrence as soon as the Affair should be disclos'd to him; For these Reasons Cardinal *Acquaviva* was for communicating it to the Holy Father before any Overture was made at *Madrid*. *Alberoni* lik'd his Eminency's Reasons; and the Holy Father being accordingly consulted, not only approv'd Abbot *Alberoni*'s Scheme, but would have him make a Merit of it to the most Christian King, and his Grandson King *Philip*.

The Holy Father wrote about it himself to the King of *France*, and sent punctual Orders to his Nuncio at *Madrid* to give *Alberoni* all manner of Assistance, in an Affair which his Holiness

look'd upon to be of infinite Advantage to the Holy See. In short, there's scarce a Pope, who was ever in Circumstances more difficult than Pope *Clement XI.* for being faithfully attach'd to the Interests of the House of *Bourbon*, he always opposes that of *Austria*; and it was easy for him to believe, that a Match with the presumptive Heiress of the Dominions of *Parma*, putting the Catholick King in Possession of certain Rights and Pretensions, which gave him Footing in *Italy*, would enable him to serve the Views of the Sovereign Pontiff, who only wanted an Opportunity to be reveng'd for the Invasion of *Comacchio*, for the Passage of the *German* Troops thro' the Territories of the Church, and especially for the sincere, but injurious Manifesto, which has been publish'd above.

Alberoni made these Dispositions of the Holy Father very serviceable towards attaining his Ends, but he took a different Course to insinuate himself into the good Opinion of his Catholick Majesty. He had already the Happiness to be known to him by a good Token; for the late Duke of *Vendosme* did not present him to his Majesty, till after he had magnify'd the Services he had done him, by keeping the People of the Kingdoms of *Aragon* and *Valencia* stedfast in their Loyalty. The King of *France* had always certain Persons at *Madrid*, which compos'd a Council, of which that of *Versailles* was the Soul; and whose Members were all Creatures of the *French* Court, and sent to *Madrid* from time to time to direct all Affairs there, according to the Views of the most Christian King, and to give him an Account of every thing that pass'd in the Councils of the *Escorial*. *Alberoni* got to be
ini-

initiated in the Mysteries of this Cabal ; for being known to *Lewis XIV.* by the Character of a lively and enterprizing Person, it was no difficult Matter for him to render himself necessary to that Monarch, who knew by Experience what such Persons were capable of doing, who were distinguish'd from the rest of Mankind by a little Band or Cowl. Therefore our Abbot, who was only an Agent of the Court of *Parma*, became one of the secret Ministers of the *French* Court, which committed the Negotiation of the Marriage to him.

While this pass'd, *Barcelona* being reduc'd to Extremity by the Valour and Conduct of the Dukes of *Popoli* and *Berwick*, was oblig'd to submit to King *Philip*, who was now in a Condition to treat that City with all the Severity that so obstinate a Resistance had deserv'd. This Conquest restor'd Peace to all *Spain* ; and the Court being disengag'd from the Hurry of Arms, was now at leisure to form Projects that were more pleasant and agreeable. That of the King's Marriage was the chief. Abbot *Alberoni* had got an Interest in those who were most near to the Prince ; Neither was the Pope's Nuncio idle ; so that it was not difficult for them to obtain more Helps in an Affair of this Nature ; which, whenever it should succeed, could not but be very advantagious to those who had a Hand in it ; besides that generally on such Occasions, Persons are not wanting, who are glad to be of the same Party, only to be reveng'd on their Enemies, when they perceive that these oppose the Sentiments of the Ministry. The Character which was given to the King of the Princess of *Parma*, what was told him of

her shining Virtues, of the Greatness of her Soul, of her Penetration above the Weakness of her Sex; in a Word, the Enumeration of so many fine Qualities, which render'd her so worthy of a Throne, did so strongly impress the King, that he imagin'd, with very good Reason, he should find the Princess a compleat Pattern of her, whose Loss he still lamented: Other Considerations added to this, and especially Reasons of State, to which the Ministers of *France* inclin'd him to give him due Attention, soon determin'd him to approve the Proposal of this Marriage.

Alberoni, though naturally of a merry Disposition, was never more rejoic'd than now, when he saw the Success of this Important Affair, which he had so much at Heart. See what he wrote to one of his Friends in the Ministry.

“ I so little doubt, Sir, of the Share you
 “ take in every Thing that does me a Plea-
 “ sure, that you shall be the first Man to
 “ whom I impart an Account of the most hap-
 “ py Occurrence of my Life. The Project of
 “ a Marriage between his Catholick Majesty
 “ and the Princess *Elizabeth*, which I form'd at-
 “ ter the Death of the late Queen, and which
 “ I communicated to our Duke, is just now, by
 “ the Mediation of the Holy Father and the
 “ Most Christian King, entirely approv'd by
 “ his Catholic Majesty. I look upon this Suc-
 “ cess as the Crown of all Fortune's Favours,
 “ which she can never bestow upon me, but I
 “ must do myself the Pleasure to make you a
 “ Partner therein, so that the Happiness is
 “ equally yours. The Favourites of the late
 “ Queen are terribly nonplus'd, and especially
 “ the

“ the Favourite Princess; I could wish you saw
 “ with what Eyes she regards me, since she had
 “ a Suspicion that I was the *primum Mobile* of
 “ this Treaty; nevertheless, for some Days past
 “ she has given me a Copy of her Countenance,
 “ and feigns at least in my Company to be
 “ transported at what has happen’d, pretending
 “ that she is only sorry she had not a Hand in
 “ it; but you know her too well, to believe that
 “ she speaks as she thinks. — For the rest, the
 “ King has order’d Dispatches to be sent to
 “ the Court of *Parma*. It was propos’d that I
 “ should be the Bearer; but I excus’d myself,
 “ and am apt to think that the Duke our Mas-
 “ ter would be better pleas’d if some Person of
 “ Rank was invested with that Character; and
 “ ’tis probable that the King will single out
 “ the Cardinal *Acquaviva*. When the Person is
 “ actually resolv’d upon, I shall do myself the
 “ Honour to acquaint the Duke with it, and
 “ shall also let you know it. I shall be for ever
 “ with Esteem, &c.

The Consequence shew’d plainly that Abbot
Alberoni was not mistaken; for the King did ac-
 tually send Orders to Cardinal *Acquaviva*, who
 was then at *Rome*, to notify the Conclusion of
 his Marriage to the Holy Father. The same
 was solemniz’d, only for Form sake, on the
 18th of *July*, in a publick Hall of Audience,
 in which the Cardinal gave the Pope a Letter
 from the Catholick King, giving him Advice of
 his Alliance to the Daughter of a Prince his
 Feudatary.

This Ceremony was not perform’d with so
 much *Finesse* as to deceive the *Austrian* Ministers.

On

On the contrary, the Satisfaction and Joy which the Holy Father discover'd on this Occasion open'd their Eyes, both to the Consequences and Cause of a Brief, which the Holy Father granted some Months ago to the Duke of *Parma*, authorizing him to leave the Succession of his Dominions to the Female Line, in case that he should die without Issue Male. They perceiv'd in this Affair, tho' too late, the subtle Hand of a crafty Statesman, since the Brief was a demonstrative Proof, that the whole was done in concert with the Court of *Rome*; which granted the said Authority only to facilitate the Terms of the said Contract, the Principal whereof was, that the Eldest Son of the future Queen should be declar'd Duke and Sovereign of the Dominions of *Parma*, *Placentia*, *Busseto*, and *Val de Taro*, besides other Views form'd upon the Dominions of the Great Duke of *Tuscany*. It was the more natural for the Holy Father to give his Consent to it, because, as the Emperor's Power increas'd in these Countries, which were formerly the Seat of the Empire, so the Fears and Jealousies of the Court of *Rome* and all the Princes of *Italy* increas'd in proportion.

Therefore as soon as the Cardinals *Schrottenbach* and *Imperiali* had an Inkling of what pass'd at the Palace, where the Holy Father had already nam'd Cardinal *Gozzadini* Legat of *Latere*, to carry the new Queen his Nuptial Benediction, and to compliment her on the Part of his Holiness; they did not fail to make a great Noise and Bluster, and protested in Form both against sending of the Legat, and against recognizing the Titles of the Queen of *Spain*, in any other besides the Empress.

Never-

Nevertheless, this Protestation was not enough to damp the Holy Father's Joy for having done any thing capable to mortify the House of *Austria*. Cardinal *Aquaviva*, who had Orders at the same Time to repair to *Parma*, to demand the Princess of the Duke her Father in Law, and who had 12000 Pistoles remitted to him for the Charge of his Embassy, set out next Day after the Audience, and was immediately follow'd by the Cardinal Legat, who had a Retinue of about four hundred Persons. One may easily judge how the first was receiv'd, by the Impatience with which the Messenger of such happy News was expected; and what Honours were paid to the second, who represented the Person of the Sovereign Pontiff.

While this pass'd in *Italy*, King *Philip* declar'd this Marriage to his Court, and the King of *France* did the like at *Marli*, where was the Cardinal *del Giudici*, to whom the Secret was not imparted, till it was just on the Point of being publish'd. All Politicians in both Kingdoms were struck with a profound Surprise when they heard of this Declaration, and no Body could find out who had been the Author of a Project so extraordinary, and conducted with so much Secrecy and Prudence. In short, the Credit of it was given to several Persons who never once dreamt on't; and all own'd that the Author, whoever he was, could not have contriv'd any thing that more nearly touch'd the House of *Austria*, who, as is observ'd, pleads certain Rights to the Dominions of *Parma*, which are so advantageously situate, to be re-united to the Dutchy of *Milan*, from which it's pretended it has been dismember'd; and upon this Marriage

riage the Council of *Vienna*, which was before inclinable to sacrifice some of her Pretensions for the Repose of *Europe*, set up a Resolution to lose all rather than yield *Sicily*, or even one Inch of their Dominions in *Italy*, where a considerable Domain, which seem'd just dropping into his Hands, was now taken quite away from him.

The Ceremony of the Espousals was perform'd with extraordinary Magnificence by Duke *Francisco*, Uncle and Father in Law to the new Queen, who set out immediately for *Genoa*, accompany'd by the Princess of *Piombino*, her first Lady of Honour, and by Cardinal *Acquaviva*, who deliver'd the Queen to the Care of the Marquess *de los Balbases*, late Viceroy of *Sicily*, to convey her to *Spain* by Sea; but this Element not agreeing with her Health, she resolv'd to go by Land, and passing thro' the Southern Provinces of *France*, was complimented wherever she came, with the Honours due to a Queen of *Spain*, and a Consort of the first Prince of the Blood.

The Princess arriving in *Spain*, the first Act of Authority she exercis'd, was upon the Princess of *Ursines*. This Favourite of the King and the late Queen went to meet the new Queen as far as *Xadraquez*, upon the Frontiers of *Castille*; but she was not receiv'd so well as she expected. She happen'd to be the first Victim which the King sacrific'd to his new Spouse, who being a Stranger to the Court of *Spain*, and having no other Rule to direct her, but the Instructions which *Alberoni* sent her on that Head to the Court of *Parma*, desir'd the King to dismiss a Favourite who had such an Influence

ence over him as could not subsist with the Understanding necessary to be cultivated betwixt her and her Husband. The King knew not how to deny her this first Boon, but all the Difficulty lay in the doing it; *Alberoni* plainly saw that the Generous Prince had not Resolution to speak to the Princess about it himself, much less to stand her Reproaches, or to forbear Tears if she should throw herself at his Feet. Therefore he propos'd this Expedient, *viz.* that the King should only give his Consent, and leave the Execution of it to the Queen herself. From hence it appears, that 'twas *Alberoni* who perswaded the Princess of *Urfines* to go and meet the new Queen, because her Majesty gave her a cold Reception, and immediately order'd her to depart her Chamber; call'd for the Colonel of the Guards sent to meet her, and gave him an Order in Writing to clap the Princess of *Urfines* forthwith in a Coach, to conduct her to the Frontiers of *France*, and to forbid her ever to return into *Spain*. The Princess refus'd to obey the Queen's Order, and demanded to see one from the King; which Disobedience confirm'd the Queen in the Character she had of her from *Alberoni*, and that his Advice to remove her was very seasonable. In the mean time the Colonel of the Guards, having a secret Order to obey the Queen's Will in all Things, shew'd it to the disgrac'd Favourite, who then comply'd; but could not help letting fall some Expressions of her Chagrin and Resentment, when she perceiv'd how she had been trick'd by the Agent of *Parma*, who had in this Instance reveng'd both himself and the Memory of his Patron the Duke of *Vendosm*, whom this Favourite had always thwarted,

thwarted, at the same Time that he (the Agent) had pretended entire Friendship.

The King receiv'd the Queen at *Guadalaxara*, nine Leagues from *Madrid*, whither his Majesty went with the Prince of *Asturias*, his eldest Son; and the Marriage was consummated in that little City on *Christmas* Eve, 1714. Three Days after their Majesties enter'd *Madrid*, with the Acclamations of the People, who gave Proofs of their Rejoycing, by Feasts that lasted four Days successively.

The Queen arriving at *Pampeluna*, sent Home all the *Parmesans* that accompanied her; so that the Officers and Ladies, who enter'd into their Employments under her Majesty, were all *Spanish*, except only the Princess of *Piombino*, for whom she had a tender Affection; but this Princess wisely reflecting on what had happen'd in her Sight to the Princess of *Ursines*, desir'd Leave to return to her own Country, which their Majesties granted her, after having loaded her with rich Presents. By this means Abbot *Alberoni* was the only *Parmesan* that staid with the Queen, who had a great Idea of the Superiority of his Genius, and who made it her Rule to consult him in all Affairs; so that, under the Name of the Duke of *Parma's* Agent, it may be said he was Privy Counsellor to the Queen, who, by degrees, sway'd the King to admit him to the Cabinet.

Catalonia being now reduc'd by the taking of *Barcelona*, none of the King's Subjects held out but the *Majorcans*; and the new King of *England* being a Guarantee of the Treaty of Evacuation, seem'd dispos'd to unite his Forces with these

those of *France* and *Spain*, to compel them to lay down their Arms.

While Preparations were making for this Expedition, on the Success of which the Tranquility of all *Spain* depended, the Queen regulating her Conduct by that of the Princess, to whose Bed she succeeded, us'd all manner of Application to inform herself of Affairs of State, in order to help the King, her Consort, to support the Weight of the Government, and to gain the Affection of the People. For this End she confer'd daily with *Alberoni*, who knew both the Strength and the Weakness of the Court, and receiv'd all the Instructions from him, that she wanted. The first Effect of this Application of the Queen to Business of the State, was the Advice she hinted to the King, to correct divers Abuses which had crept into the Government, while Affairs were under the Direction of Foreign Ministers, meaning the Count *de Bergeick*, *M. Ory*, and the Princess of *Ursines*. Upon this follow'd the famous Decree of the 10th of *February*, whereby the King not only gave full Liberty to the Ministers and Counsellors of State to give him their Advice, to make Remonstrances to him, and to reply to his Resolutions, but even commanded them to do it, charging them to answer it before God, if they did any thing against the Dictates of their Consciences.

One may imagine what Blessings were given to the Person whom they look'd upon as the *Primum Mobile* of an Action so truly Royal, the Glory whereof did, in part, redound to *Alberoni*, who was now reckon'd the Queen's Privy Counsellor. This first Step was follow'd by several
con-

considerable Changes in the chief Posts, in which tho' *Alberoni* had not any Share, he needed not to chide his Fortune, for he so wisely improv'd the Opportunity favourable to his Advancement, that the *Spaniards*, who were become jealous, because *Frenchmen* and *Italians* had been so long employ'd in Places of Trust, could not murmur at his Advancement.

At length the whole Island of *Majorca* was reduc'd, about the End of *June 1715*, by the Prudence and wise Conduct of the Chevalier de *Hasselt*, without firing a Gun. This last Conquest depriving the Enemies of *Spain* of all Hopes of disturbing its Tranquility, King *Philip* thought fit to abolish the various Changes, which the Badness of the Times had forc'd him to make in the Government; therefore he re-establish'd all Affairs in the Councils upon the Foot they were before his Accession to the Crown, which more than ever gain'd him the Hearts of his Subjects, who are the only *Europeans* that are not fond of Novelties.

While this pass'd at one End of the *Mediterranean*, the *Levant* was cover'd with Ships of War. The Sultan judging well that he could not maintain himself upon the Throne, if he did not find Employment for his Militia, whom too much Rest certainly renders insolent, fell upon the *Venetians*, as nearest at hand; and after having arrested their Bayliff, declar'd War against them with all the Forms, without giving the least Reason for it; and in spite of the Menaces of the *Austrian* Minister, who declar'd to the Divan, that the Emperor could not avoid succouring the *Venetians* his Allies, if the

Porte

Porte persisted in those Designs, contrary to the Treaty of *Carlowitz*.

The Progress which the *Turks* made the first Campaign, in which they conquer'd the greatest Part of the *Morea*, determin'd the Emperor to take Arms, being persuaded that the conquering *Turk* would not fail to turn his Arms against *Hungary*, as soon as he should have no more occasion to employ his numerous Troops against the *Venetians*. All the Christian Princes were invited to take Arms against the common Enemy of the Christian Name, and to send Succours either to the *Venetians* or to the Emperor; and the Pope, as the common Father of Christendom, dispatch'd exhortatory Briefs on all Sides, to renew, if he could, the famous Times of the *Crusades*.

While all these important Affairs were on the Anvil, Death carry'd off, in a Manner very sudden, one of the greatest Monarchs the World ever had; *Lewis XIV.* having obtain'd one of the most honourable Treaties of Peace, and a Peace so little expected, dy'd at a Juncture of Time, when all things conspir'd to rekindle the Flame of War, which was scarce extinguish'd; all the *Levant* was actually in Arms. The Emperor form'd his Armies; the new King of *Sicily* was embroil'd with the Pope, who had put his Kingdom under an Interdict, at a Time when People were recover'd from that Terror, which was formerly the Companion of the most unjust Excommunications. *Sweden*, as if she had not enough to do against four powerful Enemies, the Czar, and the Kings of *Poland*, *Denmark* and *Prussia*, the King of *Great Britain* join'd them, by acquiring the Rights to the Dutchies

of *Bremen* and *Ferden* from the King of *Denmark*; and declaring War against *Sweden* as Elector of *Hanover*, he cover'd the *Baltic* with *English* Shipping. *Spain* and *Portugal* too, animated with Sentiments of Pity and Compassion for Christendom, were not at rest, but soon sent their Fleets to unite with the *Venetians* against the common Enemy.

France, in a State of Minority, was the only Kingdom that remain'd neuter, at a time of universal Combustion; and indeed the Regency was so taken up to remedy those unavoidable Disorders, which were the Effect of a long and obstinate War, that they were scarce in a Condition to think of any thing else. As soon as the fatal News of *Lewis XIV's* Death came to *Madrid*, King *Philip* consider'd whether he should not improve his Claim of Right to be Regent of *France*, because he was the first Prince of the Blood, and Uncle to the young King, forasmuch as there were Instances of foreign Princes, who had been Regents in *France*; such was *Henry V*, King of *England*, who was own'd Guardian of King *Charles VI*, and Regent of his Kingdom; such was *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders*, Tutor to young King *Philip I*. But Abbot *Alberoni*, who now began to be heard in the King's Cabinet, made him alter his Sentiments, and forc'd him to confess; that for his own Peace, and that of *Europe*, he should abide by the Terms of his Renunciations, and leave it to the Parliament, to commit the Guardianship to whose Hands they should think fit. A Courier arriving some Hours after this Conference, shew'd that *Alberoni* had judg'd wisely, after they had heard all that pass'd in Favour of the Duke

Duke of Orleans; and that it would have been too late to attempt any Alteration in the Resolutions of the Parliament, and the Approbation of the whole Kingdom.

France did not concern herself with Turkey, tho' when the Emperor had espous'd the Quarrel of the Venetians, and drawn the Ottoman Arms towards Hungary, the Regent permitted several Noblemen and Gentlemen to go and draw their Swords in Defence of the Christian Name, and to learn the Art of War under a Prince of their own Nation, and one of the greatest Generals of his Age.

While the Court of Spain made pious Efforts to support the common Cause of Christianity against the Infidels, and ceas'd not, with the sage Counsels of the Queen, to put the Kingdom into good Order, by the Establishment of several very useful Councils, after the Example of France; at the beginning of the Minority the Ministry at Madrid thought they had made a Discovery of several Projects carrying on to their Disadvantage in other Courts of Europe, from whom Spain thought she had the less to fear, because the Ties of Blood united her with the one, and new Treaties and solemn Guaranties did not permit her so much as to suspect the others.

Abbot Alberoni was he who made the Discovery. The Princess of Ursines Departure, and then the Death of Lewis XIV, had by degrees vastly sunk the Interest of Cardinal del Giudici; and tho' he was still at the Head of Affairs, yet it was perceivable, from that very time, that Alberoni having found the Secret, by his Activity and Attention, to merit the entire

Confidence of their Majesties, he made large Advances towards his being a Minister of State, especially when he was openly protected by the Queen, who admitted him into all the Affairs of the Cabinet; so that the Cardinal Minister was only the Echo of Abbot *Alberoni*, who never explain'd himself but by the Mouth either of the King or the Queen.

The King of *England* having suppress'd the Rebellion in *Scotland*, resolv'd to travel to his Hereditary Dominions in *Germany*, where he might be at hand to finish the Projects form'd by the Council at *Hanover*. In short, his Majesty was no sooner arriv'd at *Hanover*, but there came, tho' *incognito*, an Imperial Minister, and another from the Court of *France*, with whom he confer'd about bringing his Projects to Maturity. The Thing propos'd was no less than the Plan of such a general Accommodation all over *Europe*, that nothing could ever disturb its Tranquility hereafter.

The Abbot *Du Bois*, now Secretary of State and Knight of the Order of *Spirito Santo*, and the Baron *de Bentenreider*, were those with whom the *Hanover* Ministers enter'd into Measures the most just for executing a Design that would be so useful to all Christendom. But as this Affair could not be determin'd without the Intervention or Concurrence of *Spain*, Mr. Secretary *Stanhope* wrote about it by the King's Order to Abbot *Alberoni*, and desir'd him to incline his Catholick Majesty to come into his *Britannick* Majesty's Plan of Peace. Abbot *Alberoni* imparted Mr. *Stanhope*'s Letter to the King his Master, and by his Order sent him an Answer in such loose Terms, as gave Hopes that his

his Catholick Majesty would still concur, as much as lay in his Power, in any thing that might procure the Repose of *Europe* and a solid Peace.

This Proceeding of the King of *England* engag'd Abbot *Alberoni* to send without delay some unknown Person as a Spy to *Hanover*, that he might be exactly inform'd of what pass'd there. Then comparing the King of *England*'s Proposal with the Offensive and Defensive Treaty of Alliance, which his *Britannick* Majesty concluded with the Emperor some Months before, and reflecting at the same time upon the Conduct of the King of *Sicily*, who was also in Negotiation some Months before with his Imperial Majesty, and who made his Quarrel with the Court of *Rome* a Pretence for his arming both in *Sicily* and *Savoy*, *Alberoni* was strongly of Opinion, that if the *Turks* had not cut out Work for the Christian Princes, the Emperor would soon have set about executing, if possible, what he promis'd the *Barcelonians* two Years before. Therefore he gave King *Philip* to understand, that he had unquestionable Information, that the King of *Sicily* was enter'd into a Negotiation for transferring that Kingdom to the Emperor for an Equivalent, which would for ever have depriv'd *Spain* of the Rights she has reserv'd, contrary to the Tenor of the Treaty of *Utrecht*, by which *Spain* yielded *Sicily* to his *Sicilian* Majesty, but reserved by the said Act of Cession a Clause of Reversion and Devolution.

The private Agent, whom *Alberoni* sent to *Hanover*, having had the Cunning to gain the Confidence of one of the chief Ministers, did not fail to send Memoirs of every thing that pass'd to the Court of *Madrid*. He affirm'd,

that the Baron *de Bentenreider* had given the *Hannover* Ministers to understand in the clearest Terms, that his Imperial Majesty could not consent to the Dismembring of the Dominions of the Crown of *Spain* in *Italy*; and that he would sacrifice all, rather than leave *Sicily* in the Hands of any other Sovereign, especially such a Prince as the King of *Sicily*. The King of *England* saw with Displeasure, that it would be impossible to incline the Court of *Vienna* (as then dispos'd) to yield any part of their Possessions, and that on the other hand it might happen, that *Spain*, govern'd by a Minister who was such an Enemy of the House of *Austria*, and of an enterprizing Genius, would not omit the first Opportunity to engage *Europe* in a new War; his *Britannick* Majesty therefore judg'd it absolutely necessary to find out a due Temperament to reconcile those two Powers, and thereby prevent such great Misfortunes. In this so important Affair, his Majesty took such Measures as seem'd most agreeable to the Minister of the Duke Regent of *France*, who was concern'd to prevent every the least Occasion of involving *France* in a War, during the Minority.

In these Circumstances *Alberoni* employ'd all his Address, to perswade his Catholic Majesty, that in good Politics he ought to start before his Enemies. He ran over the whole Conduct of the *Germans*, ever since the Conclusion of the Treaty for the Evacuation of *Catalonia*, and the Neutrality of *Italy*, and the Treaties lately concluded betwixt the House of *Austria* and several Potentates. He asserted, that Contributions were demanded of the *Italian* Princes, contrary to the Tenor of the Treaty of Neutrality: He repre-

represented the Establishment of the Council of Spain at Vienna as an Insult on the Crown of Spain : Lastly, he insisted particularly on the Sentiments of the *Spanish* Nation, who mistook for Pusillanimity the Patience with which the Court bore all those Grievances, and the odious Names, with which all the Declarations and Ordinances of the Council of Vienna were stuff'd, in those Affairs which any ways concern'd the Subjects of that Monarchy.

His Catholick Majesty, whose Piety and Integrity are his distinguishing Qualities, alledg'd the Engagements which he was under to the Holy Father to undertake nothing against the Emperor, during the War against the *Turks*; and at the same time he made him sensible how unwilling he was to weaken the Auxiliary Fleet so considerably, when it depended upon a considerable Reinforcement from Spain. But *Alberoni* overcame all those Scruples, and shew'd the King, that his Enemy would not fail to improve the first Opportunity, when neither the Holy Father, nor any other Sovereign, would be able to oppose him; that as to the Auxiliary Fleet, that ought to be the least of his Majesty's Concern, since the Christian Fleet was Mistress of all the *Levant*, where that of the Infidels did not dare to appear; and finally, that his Majesty was oblig'd to lay hold on an Opportunity, which perhaps would never return again, to improve his just Rights to the Dominions torn from him at *Utrecht*; and the rather, since his Majesty's Conduct was authoriz'd by the Duke of *Savoy's*.

In short, the News came fresh from *France* and *England*, that his *Sicilian* Majesty was in Treaty

with the Emperor to give him up the Kingdom of *Sicily*. *Alberoni* had had some Suspensions of this Negotiation before, as has been already observ'd, and he was now assur'd of it by Advices from the Ministers of those two Crowns, according to express Order from their Masters. 'Tis true, *Alberoni* made a different Use of the Intelligence from what those who gave it him mainly intended; which was to intimidate him, and to incline him to procure the Consent of the King his Master, to enter into the Views of the *Hanover* Ministers. But *Alberoni* took Occasion from thence to determine the King to come into his own Views, since otherwise he would have irretrievably ruin'd the Rights he had reserv'd to himself on *Sicily*. He also made use of this Advice to penetrate into the Designs of the King of *Sicily*. For this reason he often confer'd with the *Savoy* Minister at the Court of *Spain*; and in order to sift out his Master's Designs, and at the same time to put him under a Necessity of altering, or at least delaying the Execution of his Projects, an Offer was made to him of an Offensive and Defensive Alliance, which it was not believ'd he could refuse; because, when he was ask'd the Reason of his Master's Armament by Land and Sea, he alledg'd, that it was to put himself in a Condition to fear nothing from the Emperor, who would not acknowledge the King of *Sicily*; whereupon he had reason to fear an Invasion from the Kingdom of *Naples*, or to be attack'd in his Hereditary Dominions by Forces from the *Milanese*, as soon as the Emperor could make use of his Troops which were employ'd in *Hungary*, where the Imperialists were

were so successful, that the War was not like to hold long.

While Things remain'd in this Posture, and an Answer was impatiently expected from his *Sicilian Majesty*, News came, that the Pope, complying at length with the Instances of the Q. of *Spain*, had nominated Ab. *Julius Alberoni* for a Cardinal, in a Consistory held the 12th of *July*, after having given him a Noble Character; wherein he own'd, that the Holy See was oblig'd to the Abbot's Zeal and Pains for the Accommodation of the Difference which happen'd between the Courts of *Rome* and *Madrid* about the Privileges of the Nunciature; for the Assistance of twelve Ships sent by *Spain* against the *Turks*; and for many other important Services done to Holy Church, and the Holy See in particular. The Catholick King, being willing to give the new Cardinal some Marks of his Friendship, at the same time created him a Grandee of *Spain*, and soon after declar'd him his prime Minister.

Cardinal *del Giudici*, who had enjoy'd that Post ever since the Queen's Death, was recall'd to *Rome* by the Pope at the secret Instances of the Queen and her Favourite, at the same time that the Holy Father confirm'd Seignior *Molinez* in the eminent Dignity of Grand Inquisitor of *Spain*; to which the King advanc'd him, after having desir'd the Resignation of Cardinal *Giudici*, who fell by degrees under his Majesty's Displeasure.

The News that the Emperor approv'd of the Arrest of Seignior *Molinez* at *Milan* was a new Grievance, which the Cardinal did not fail to aggravate, in order to determine the King to a Rupture. Accordingly every thing was dispos'd for

for it, and the Cardinal gave such good Orders every where that nothing was wanting, but the Order or rather the Royal Consent for Execution. The Squadron which return'd from the *Levant*, was provided at *Barcelona* with all Necessaries for a Descent, and reinforc'd by more Ships, while others were kept ready in other Harbours of the Kingdom to back them. As many Transport Ships as possible were assembl'd, but they did not think fit to bring so many as they wanted into that Harbour, because it would have alarm'd the Powers, whom the Motion of the Troops design'd for the Descent had already made uneasy. But the Cardinal found out an Expedient practis'd in the like Case by other Potentates, which was to oblige the Foreign Shipping that were in the Harbour, when they should have need of 'em, to land their Effects, and to serve the State, paying them their Freight for the Time they serv'd.

While the Cardinal thus issued his Orders accordingly to all Places, pretending all the while to send an extraordinary Reinforcement to the *Levant*; he took care to sound the States of *Italy*, which he knew could not be satisfy'd with the Augmentation of the Power of the House of *Austria*. He also sent Emissaries into the Kingdom of *Naples*, which always swarms with Malecontents and sorry Fellows, usually employ'd on the like Occasions. In short, he was of Opinion that the greatest Part of *Italy* only wanted a favourable Opportunity to declare against the House of *Austria*; and that as soon as the Troops were landed on their Coast, there would be a general Insurrection. It appear'd very plain, that the King of *Sicily* only desir'd
that

that Opportunity for signing a Treaty to which he was not averſe, any farther, than that good Policy did not permit him to join with *Spain*, unleſs he had Supplies in Hand; for otherwiſe it would have expoſ'd him to become a Victim to the Reſentment of the Imperial Court.

The Cardinal having ſet all theſe Conſiderations before the King his Maſter, did at length obtain his Conſent for putting in Execution the Plan which he had projected, namely, to invade *Sardinia* firſt, where he was ſure of Aſſiſtance from the very People of the Iſland; and then to make a Deſcent on the Kingdom of *Naples*, on the Side of *Calabria*, while the Troops of *Savoy* and *Sicily* invaded the Kingdom on the other Side; and that after the Reduction of *Sardinia*, the Troops which had been employ'd on this Expedition, ſhould be ſent to the Aſſiſtance of the King of *Sicily*, who ſhould therewith attempt the Conqueſt of the *Milanefe*, which ſhould be given up to him for moſt Part to make good his Expences.

At length this Fleet, which was plentifully furniſh'd with all Neceſſaries, and the ſetting out of which had made all *Europe* uneaſy, no Body being able to penetrate into the Deſign of the Armament, ſail'd towards the end of *July*; and after having roam'd at Sea a-while, to give time to the Transport-Ships to join them, they made a Deſcent upon the Iſle of *Sardinia*, the 22d of *Auguſt*, at the Salt Pits. The ſame Day the Land Forces, to the Number of above 8000 Men, advanc'd towards *Cagliari* the Capital of the Iſland, and encamp'd in the Plain of *Lazaret*, while the Fleet caſt Anchor on the Town ſide, to be nearer at hand to land the

the Artillery, and other Necessaries for a Siege. Next Day after the landing, the Marquess *de Lede*, to whom the Cardinal committed the Secret and Conduct of this Expedition, sent to summon the Marquess of *Rubi*, Viceroy of the Island, and Governor of the Capital, to surrender before he was reduc'd to an Extremity. This Marquess is a *Catalan*, and was one of those chiefly concern'd in continuing the War in *Catalonia*; and after *Barcelona* had submitted, he kept the *Majorcans*, who receiv'd him for Viceroy, from returning to their Obedience; so that it was expected he would shew all the Resolution necessary on this Occasion; at least, to gain so much time, as to hinder his falling into the Power of the Court of *Spain*: Therefore he sent an Answer that he would hold out to the last Extremity. The Duty of his Post requir'd such an Answer, and the Officer sent to him had scarce turn'd his Back, but he dispatch'd Orders throughout the whole Island, forbidding Provisions to be carry'd to the *Spanish* Army, on pain of Death; and ordering all the Cisterns to be poison'd, for the Destruction of the Soldiers who were landed, telling the People that the *Spaniards* were come on purpose to cut their Throats.

The Marquess *de Lede*, being inform'd of these barbarous Orders, caus'd a Declaration to be publish'd forthwith, to satisfy the Inhabitants, that the King of *Spain* had sent this Army to deliver them from Oppression, and re-instate them in the Enjoyment of their Privileges, of which their Enemies had unjustly depriv'd them. To this Declaration he added an Amnesty, for all that had been forc'd to take Arms against the Catholic

Catholic King; promis'd to pay ready Money for all Provisions that should be brought to the Army; and declar'd that he would severely punish *Marauders*, and all others, that should do the least Wrong to the Inhabitants.

This Declaration had all the Effect that could be expected, for presently the *Spanish* Camp abounded with all sorts of Provisions, and the Peasants went even to the remotest Places to fetch them Water, after having discover'd the poison'd Wells to the *Spanish* General, who caus'd Centinels to be plac'd there, to hinder the Soldiers from drawing the Water.

After these first necessary Dispositions, the Marquess *de Lede* hasten'd the Siege of *Cagliari* with that Expedition and Success, that he soon became Master of the Town; but the Marquess *Ruby* retir'd with his Garrison into the Castle, which he held out till the 17th of *September*; but hearing that the Day before the Besiegers had receiv'd a Supply of 16 Tartans, convoy'd by two Men of War; and foreseeing that the Castle would be oblig'd to surrender, he thought fit to abandon it, with some Gentlemen on Horse-back, leaving the Command to the Marquess *della Guardia* and Colonel *Carteras*, who defended it till the 30th, when the Garrison beat a Parley; but the Marquess *de Lede* granted them no other Capitulation, than to be transported to *Genoa*, on condition not to bear Arms for six Weeks.

While this pass'd in *Sardinia*, and all the Powers of *Europe* being inform'd of the Expedition, all the Ministers, who resided at the Court of *Spain*, had Orders from their Masters to make great Complaints of this Conduct, against

against a Prince whose Arms were actually employ'd in the Defence of Christianity. The Emperor being the Person most concern'd, made the greatest Outcry. After he had given Orders for sending as many Succours to *Sardinia*, as possible, he dispatch'd others to the Count de *Gallasch*, his Embassador at *Rome*, to make the strongest and most vigorous, but, at the same time, the most respectful Complaints of it to the Holy Father, whom the Council of *Vienna* accus'd at first of conniving with *Spain*; and believ'd that he was as well inform'd of this Project, before it was put in Execution, as he was of the Marriage of the Princess of *Parma*. The Imperial Embassador discharg'd his Commission in such a frank Manner, as was assuredly not at all relish'd by the Holy Father; who, to appease the Emperor, protested openly that he had no hand in the Designs of the Catholic King, and rail'd most bitterly against the new Cardinal, who, he said, had abus'd his good Nature, and deceiv'd him. But, the Imperial Minister was not satisfy'd with bare Words, for he knew the contrary of all that the Pope had told him; and was convinc'd that he was not only privy to the Design of the *Spanish* Fleet, but that he had also made use of his Authority to persuade some of the *Italian* Princes to declare for *Spain*. Therefore he demanded real Facts, namely, that the Pope should break off all Commerce with *Spain*, recal his Nuncio, who had been concern'd in part of the Intrigue, annul the Bull which granted King *Philip* the Tenth's of the Estates of the Clergy of *Spain* and the *Indies*, and degrade Cardinal *Alberoni* from the Honours of his Cap and Purple.

†

These

These Proposals put the Holy Father to a terrible Nonplus; in the mean time he must give Satisfaction to the Court of *Vienna*, or behold the Territories of the Holy See expos'd to Military Executions, with which the said Court threaten'd all the Princes of *Italy*, whom they suspected to be in a Correspondence with *Spain*. The Holy Father sent for the Cardinals *Acquaviva* and *del Giudici* to his Cabinet, to consult with them what Course he should take to satisfy the one without offending the other. *Giudici* excus'd himself from meddling in those Affairs, of which he pretended he had no Knowledge, tho' his Negotiations, as he pass'd to *Genoa* and *Turin*, when he retir'd from *Spain* to *Rome*, were able to convince him of the contrary. Cardinal *Acquaviva* went to his Holiness, whom he found very much alarm'd; and they agreed to write immediately to *Madrid*, to know the upshot of the Resolutions of the Cardinal and the Court; and that in the mean time the Holy Father should pretend abundance of Anger in public, on purpose, if possible, to blind the Imperial Minister. In short, the Sham was carry'd on so far, as to threaten Cardinal *Acquaviva* with recalling the Nuncio from *Madrid*; to which the Cardinal answer'd very warmly, that the Holy Father was his own Master, and might do as he pleas'd; but that if he did as he threaten'd, no more Nuncios would be receiv'd for the future in the Dominions of the King his Master.

All this mighty Quarrel ended only in Words, and the Holy Father came very well off, by writing two Letters, one to his Nuncios in
Germany,

Germany, and another to the King of Spain, or rather to his chief Minister. Here follows the first.

Forasmuch as, upon the News of the Resolution taken by the Spanish Court to turn those Ships against Sardinia, which according to so many repeated Promises Spain had not only design'd for the Levant against the Turk, but had given out they were already gone that Way, the World will perhaps be curious to know how his Holiness will carry it in so important a Juncture, both for his own Honour, and for that of the Holy See: I esteem it therefore necessary to let your Lordship know, that his Holiness was no sooner assur'd of the horrid Fault, but he was resolv'd to send an Express to the Nuncio in Spain, with Orders to deliver King Philip a Letter of the same Tenour with the Copy hereto annex'd; and to tell him moreover, (as to the Indulto's granted him by his Holiness for two Subsidies; one to raise a Million and half upon the Estates of the Ecclesiasticks in the Indies; the other for 500000 Ducats, Spanish Money; in order to employ the Produce towards the Charges which his Majesty should be at in his Expedition against the Turks, both directed to the said Nuncio for Execution,) that if as yet they had not been executed, they should remain of no Effect, since the Cause was ceas'd. Your Lordship may in case of Need represent to whom it may be convenient, the Importance of this Step taken by his Holiness, both with regard to the Letter, and to the other Resolution which accompanys it; and you may add the Consequences like to result from it, to the end that every one may be convinc'd of the Candor, as well as Vigor, with which his Holiness has, and does still behave on this Occasion.

ROME, Septemb. 4. 1717.

But

But the Letter which the Holy Father wrote with his own Hand to the Catholick King, and which he did not fail to value himself upon to the Emperor, is a plainer Indication than any other Reflections which may be made, whether or no the same was not concerted to mollify the just Resentment of the Council of *Vienna*; the rather, because it had no Effect, since the Nuncio stay'd, and that the Catholick King went on quietly to raise the Tenth, in Contempt of the Pope's Prohibitions; who, if he had not conniv'd at it, would have had Recourse to the Thunder of the Vatican, rather than be disobey'd.

The Important and Politick Letter which follows was inscrib'd indeed to the King, but written for Cardinal *Alberoni*.

A LETTER from the POPE to the King
of SPAIN.

*Most Dear Son in Jesus Christ, Health
and Apostolical Benediction.*

“ AS We no ways doubted the Assurances
“ your Majesty had given Us more than
“ once, that the Ships of War which We had
“ instantly demanded of you, and which you had
“ caus'd to be equip'd, were design'd for power-
“ fully succouring the Christian Fleet against
“ the Turks: Upon which Perswasion, and to
“ contribute to your Glory, We presently im-
“ parted it in Consistory to Our venerable
“ Brethren, the Cardinals of the Holy Roman
“ Church; and also what was afterwards ad-
H vis'd

“ vis’d on your Part, that those Ships had set
 “ Sail to go to the *Levant* to support the Common
 “ Cause, as you had often promis’d Us. We were
 “ so much the more perswaded of this, as We desir’d it with Ardour, having receiv’d Advice,
 “ that that Fleet, altho’ it had valiantly defended
 “ the Cause of the Christian Name, expected
 “ with Impatience the Arrival of those Auxiliary
 “ Ships, finding themselves very much fatigu’d
 “ by the bloody Battles lately fought in the Archipelago.

“ Your Majesty may then judge of the Surprise and Grief We have been in, upon the
 “ News lately spread, that your Ships had not
 “ taken the Road you had mark’d to Us, but
 “ another directly contrary to your Promises ;
 “ so that the Orthodox Religion could not hope
 “ for any Succours from it, but on the contrary
 “ had all Reason to be in Fear of most dangerous
 “ Consequences.

“ We profess to you, that hitherto We have
 “ endeavour’d to soften the Grief We had conceiv’d upon this News, in not believing that
 “ any Credit ought to be given to it, altho’ it
 “ was confirm’d by the Discourse and by the
 “ Complaints of many, because We look’d upon it
 “ as a Thing directly contrary to your great Piety, the Faith of your Promises, and even to
 “ the Duty of a Catholick King, in a Time
 “ when the Church was in so great Danger.

“ But as the common Report of this Affair,
 “ spread on all Sides, makes Us fear, that by
 “ the Artifices of some Persons you may have
 “ been drawn, against your own Inclination, into
 “ this destructive and dangerous Design, which,
 “ as ’tis said, you have already made known :

†

“ Our

“ Our sincere and paternal Charity towards you
“ permits Us not to hold our Peace in so great
“ a Danger, not only to your Reputation, but
“ even to your Soul. For who does not see
“ what Account you have to give to the
“ King of Kings, and what Stain this would be
“ to your Reputation, if your Counsellors should
“ be able to extort from you a Desertion of the
“ Common Cause; that you should have no Re-
“ gard to the Perils of the Christian Religion;
“ and that forgetting yourself, you should carry
“ elsewhere the Troops and Arms design’d to a
“ sacred War, and to the Defence of the Holy
“ Church; and that you should not regard the
“ Faith you have given to us, or rather to God,
“ who will not be mocked, and in whose Name
“ we have received your Promises? Those Coun-
“ sellors will draw upon themselves the terrible
“ Effects of the Divine Vengeance; they have
“ given to your Majesty such pernicious Coun-
“ sels, as tarnish the Glory of your Royal
“ Name, elude the Cares and the Efforts of Our
“ Pastoral Function for the Defence of the Chris-
“ tian Name; and which, in fine, God, terrible
“ to the Kings of the Earth, will not permit to
“ pass unpunish’d.

“ What Offences in Effect may not your Mi-
“ nisters bring upon them, for counselling you to
“ prefer them to the Cause of God? What Rea-
“ sons can they alledge which ought to be pre-
“ fer’d to the Good of the Catholick Religion,
“ to the Advancement of the Glory of God,
“ and to the urgent Necessities of the Christian
“ Commonwealth? Can they take for Pretence,
“ that Jesus Christ has in any thing fail’d in his
“ Word to them, or that he has done them any

“ Injustice for maintaining their Want of Faith
 “ in him, and abandoning the Cause of his
 “ Name and his Rights, to which they were
 “ oblig’d?

“ We most instantly pray then your Majesty,
 “ and conjure you, in the Name of Jesus Christ,
 “ as we have freely represented to you, but with
 “ a paternal Affection, that according to your
 “ Equity and singular Prudence, you make se-
 “ rious Reflections upon the Dangers of the
 “ Christian Commonwealth, the Church and
 “ Christ’s Religion; and that you will please to
 “ listen to Us; Us, who hold the Place of a
 “ Father to you, who love you tenderly, who
 “ give you true and salutary Counsels; rather
 “ than to those Sons of Desiance, who think not
 “ but of Things of this World; and who, de-
 “ siring not so much your Grandeur, as to ac-
 “ quire your Applause, inspire you with De-
 “ signs advantageous in Appearance, but most
 “ pernicious in Effect; and that you will take a
 “ Resolution that will make you leave things in
 “ the State they were; or if those Counsellors
 “ have induc’d you to make an Alteration, that
 “ you will restore them again to their former
 “ State, and thereby recover your Glory and
 “ your Conscience, contribute to the public
 “ Tranquility, and prevent, in fine, the Com-
 “ plaints of all good Men.

“ Our venerable Brother *Pompeio*, Archbishop
 “ of *Neo-Cesarea* [*Adrianople*] our Nuncio at
 “ your Court, will tell you more upon this Sub-
 “ ject; and We pray you to be pleas’d to listen
 “ to him always with Favour, as you have been
 “ us’d to do. In the mean time, we shall not
 “ cease to pray to God, in whose Hands are the
 “ Hearts

Cardinal ALBERONI. 101

“Hearts of Kings, that he will give the
“Strength to our Words and our Councils, that
“they may be able to soften the Mind of your
“Majesty, and make you form Designs that
“may not stop the Course of the Celestial Bene-
“dictions upon you; but that he may shower
“more and more upon you, for the continual
“Good of your Kingdom: And as a Pledge of
“our Pontifical Charity, we give you most affec-
“tionately our Apostolical Benediction.

*Given at Rome, at Sta. Maria Majora, under
the Fisher's Seal, the 25th of August, Anno
1717, and of our Papacy the 17th.*

All the Potentates of *Europe* form'd almost the same Complaints against the Conduct of the *Spanish* Ministry, but no Body with more Earnestness than the *English* Minister, whose Country Men had suffer'd by this Expedition; for a great Number of *English* Ships, and those of other Nations, were seiz'd in the Eastern Ports of *Spain*, to join the *Spanish* Fleet; upon which the Consuls were press'd with abundance of Complaints; and they, in their Turn, apply'd to the *British* Minister residing at *Madrid*, who presented a Memorial to Cardinal *Alberoni*, demanding the immediate Release of all the *English* Ships made use of against *Sardinia*. The Ministers of other Powers too were willing to be inform'd of the Cause of an Expedition so unforeseen, and made at a Time when it was believ'd that no Body had less Cause of Apprehension than the Emperor. All these pressing Solicitations did, at last, oblige the Cardinal to publish the following Manifesto, which was of

H 3

his

his own Composition, and drawn up in Form of a Letter from the Secretary *Grimaldo*, to all the *Spanish* Ministers at Foreign Courts.

**COPY of a LETTER of the Mar-
ques Grimaldi, one of the Principal Secre-
taries of State in the Court of Madrid, to
the Ministers of his Catholic Majesty, in the
several Foreign Courts. Dated August 9,
1717.**

“ **I** T is not to be doubted, that the Passage
“ and Employment of the Forces of the
“ King (whom God preserve) for the Reduc-
“ tion of the Island of *Sardinia*, at a Time
“ when all the Christian States had reason to
“ persuade themselves, that that Armament was
“ design’d to reinforce the Christian Fleet against
“ the common Enemy, according to the gene-
“ rous Offers which his Majesty had made to
“ his Holiness, has much surpriz’d your Excel-
“ lency, as well as the Public, seeing, that even
“ I myself have been extreamly astonish’d at it,
“ who having the Honour to be so near his
“ Majesty, may be allowed, so much the more,
“ to know, what no Body is unacquainted with,
“ his Uprightness, his Justice, his Religious Ob-
“ servance of his Royal Word, his extream De-
“ licacy in Matters of Conscience, and his Super-
“ iority of Spirit in Adversities, which are so
“ many Parts that compose this Monarch, and
“ make him surpass his Predecessors the most
“ Catholic and the most Holy. In the mean time,
“ who can imagine, that a Prince, adorn’d with
“ all these Virtues, forgetting himself (as we
“ may

“ may say) so much, should undertake an Act
 “ of Hostility against the Archduke, at a time
 “ when he had upon his Hands so dangerous a
 “ War against the *Turks*, and when even the
 “ Coasts of the Ecclesiastical State were threat-
 “ en’d with an Invasion? The Case being thus,
 “ no body can reason otherwise, than that the
 “ Motives must be very great and very pressing,
 “ that should force such a Resolution; Motives
 “ which after a long and surprizing Silence I have
 “ at last been inform’d of from the living Oracle
 “ of his Majesty’s sacred Mouth, with Order to
 “ communicate it to your Excellency, which I
 “ shall do with all possible Brevity.

“ Greatness of Soul made his Majesty bear
 “ with the Dismemberment of his Dominions,
 “ which the Plenipotentiaries would sacrifice to
 “ the Tranquility of *Europe*. After which he
 “ perswaded himself, that these stipulated Sacri-
 “ fices should have at least secur’d to him the rest
 “ of this Nation, as glorious as afflicted. But
 “ no sooner had he parted with the Surrender
 “ of *Sicily* in Favour of the Repose of *Spain*, up-
 “ on the Condition of the Evacuation of *Cata-*
 “ *lonia*, and the Isle of *Majorca*, than he found,
 “ that the Orders receiv’d for that Purpose were
 “ conceal’d; and when at last it came to the
 “ Knowledge of his Allies, it was pretended,
 “ that the Treaty should be executed, by virtue
 “ whereof his Majesty demanded the Evacuation
 “ of the Places. Nothing was more easy for
 “ that purpose, than for the Garrisons of the
 “ Archduke to have surrender’d to the King’s
 “ Troops the Gates of the Places they possess’d,
 “ in the same manner as was reciprocally prac-
 “ tis’d among the Potentates of *Europe*; but
 “ quite

“ quite on the contrary, the Generals of the
“ Archduke, violating the publick Faith of Trea-
“ ties, and the reciprocal Engagements, aban-
“ don’d the Places to the *Catalans*, making them
“ at the same time believe that they would soon
“ return, and thereby fomented their Disquiet
“ and rebellious Spirit so far, as to induce them
“ to think of a furious and obstinate Resistance;
“ and for the better Support of that Resistance,
“ which was the more injurious to his Majesty,
“ as it was powerful, the Generals, when they
“ embark’d, permitted that the Horses of their
“ Troops should be left and abandon’d to the
“ Rebels. And they had even a Design to de-
“ liver to them *Ostalic*, a Place that had been
“ put into their Hands for the more easy and
“ safe Imbarkation of their Troops.

“ What Expences, what Destructions, and
“ what Afflictions and Miseries, has not this Vi-
“ olation of Faith, and Contravention of Trea-
“ ties, which ought to be sacred, brought upon
“ *Spain*? The Continuation of the War had been
“ less sensible, and the Losses it might have
“ brought, more glorious to *Spain*.

“ With all this, the King, for the Love of
“ publick Peace, dissembled, and shut his Eyes
“ upon the continual Succours that came from
“ *Naples* to support the Boldness of the Rebels,
“ in hopes of procuring Step by Step Repose to
“ his Subjects, after so long and ruinous a War,
“ and another without Name. How much more
“ easy would it have been to his Majesty to
“ have invaded, with his powerful Armies and
“ Squadrons, the Dominions the Archduke pos-
“ sess’d, to make him sensible of the injurious
“ and insidious Treatment he had been guilty of?

“ But

“ But notwithstanding all this, the Effects of
“ his Breach of Faith did not stop there.

“ Letters were sent to the Generals and Governors of *Majorca* to surrender it to the King; but contrary Orders privately given, animated them to delay the Performance, and gain time for the Arrival of *German* Succours, to force *Spain* to a new War, to equip Squadrons, and to plunge the Kingdom into new Expences and Miseries, ’till in the End, the King made himself Master of the City, and the Island was deliver’d to him.

“ It must naturally be believ’d, that these manifest and authentick Acts of the Breach of Faith did not end there. But the Ministry of *Vienna* went so far, as to approve them by publick Demonstrations, and by the Recompences given to most obstinate Rebels, and who most distinguish’d themselves by their criminal Operations, declaring themselves thereby the Authors of Actions so injurious, committed by a People so unworthy, so vile, and so perfidious.

“ The War which the *Turks* declar’d against the Emperor, presented certainly to his Majesty a fair Opportunity of revenging himself, and open’d a Door to re-enter the Dominions usurp’d from him. But instead of taking Advantage of that Conjuncture, he not only condescended not to disturb the Peace of *Italy*, but in opposition to his own Interest, he indirectly contributed to the aggrandizing of his Enemy, employing his own Forces, by a Motive of Religion, to reinforce the Allies of the Arch-Duke, and assist them in conquering his Enemies.

“ The

“ The King, after this, believ’d that a Con-
 “ duct so sincere and disinterested would have
 “ produced in the Mind of the Arch-Duke, if
 “ not a Desire of Peace, at least the Attention
 “ and Regard which is observ’d even among
 “ declar’d Enemies, and the Generals of Ar-
 “ mies, in sight of one another; among whom
 “ reciprocal Civilities are observ’d. But far from
 “ following that Practice, injurious Declara-
 “ tions have on the contrary been publish’d at
 “ *Vienna*, in *Italy*, and in *Flanders*, against the
 “ Person of the King, and against his Crown,
 “ so far as to cause the Inquisitor General of
 “ *Spain* to be seiz’d, notwithstanding that he was
 “ furnish’d with the Pope’s Passport, fortified
 “ with the Consent and Approbation of Cardi-
 “ nal *Schrottenbach*. This last Act has recalled
 “ to the Mind of his Majesty the past Offences,
 “ and the Obligations that lie upon a King to
 “ revenge himself, and acquire Satisfaction for
 “ the Injuries he has suffer’d; which he cannot
 “ dispense with, without weakening his Autho-
 “ rity in the Minds of his People; who will
 “ look upon him as incapable of securing their
 “ Repose, if he puts up the Affronts that are
 “ offer’d to his Crown.

“ Upon all which, it is to be consider’d, that
 “ the Ministry of *Vienna* have at all times
 “ sought all possible Means of humbling the
 “ Minds of a Nation so scrupulous and delicate
 “ in the Point of Honour, and who take such
 “ Offence at a publick Injury offer’d their King.
 “ Nothing but these serious Considerations could
 “ have put a stop to the Course of his Majesty’s
 “ Intentions of sending the powerful Succours
 “ that were prepar’d against the Enemy of the
 “ Arch-

" Arch-Duke the *Turk*, and excite his Justice to
" employ them in a lawful Vengeance.

" Your Excellency is charg'd to make known,
" That his Majesty, who has concur'd in ad-
" justing the Differences of *Rome* with a Zeal
" and Intention so pure, for the Good and Ho-
" nour of the Church, could never, without the
" most powerful Motives, have stop'd those
" Forces with which he was always dispos'd to
" aggrandize it. And it is a great Mortification
" to me, to see that these Succours demanded
" by his Holiness, are for some time delay'd,
" which his Majesty thro' a just Resentment
" cannot avoid. It were to be hop'd, that the
" Conduct of the Ministers of a Prince so con-
" siderable as is the Arch-Duke, had been re-
" gulated and proportion'd to the Dignity of a
" Sovereign; and that they had not expos'd
" themselves to the just Blame that is due to a
" continual and manifest Want of good Faith.

These Reasons, tho' plausible in Appearance,
gave Satisfaction to no body. The Emperor
being apprehensive that some of the Princes of
Italy would suffer themselves to be misled, re-
peated his Threats, the most terrible Storm of
which fell upon the Duke of *Parma*, whose Do-
minions he was resolv'd to sequestrate; by this
Means he chastis'd two at once, the Duke and
the Pope. However, he forbore farther Me-
naces, under an Apprehension that such Severity
would exasperate the Parties. Notwithstand-
ing this Conduct, the Duke was really frighted,
and sent a Dispatch to Cardinal *Acquaviva* to
entreat the Pope, to cause the Standard of the
Church to be set up in his Capital City, and to
Gar-

Garrison it in his own Name ; as several of his Predecessors had done, apparently with a View, that the Emperor's Cuirassiers would have greater regard to his Holiness's Troops than to his own. The King of *England* and the Duke Regent of *France* not being satisfy'd with the Reasons alledg'd in the Cardinal's Manifesto, renew'd their Complaints, and gave out, more especially the former, that if the Court of *Spain* did not put a stop to the Execution of their Projects against *Italy*, his Majesty would be oblig'd, by Virtue of the Treaty of *May 1716*, to assist the Emperor his Ally.

The Cardinal reply'd to the King of *England's* Remonstrance, with very pressing Complaints against the *British* Ministry's Conduct, in negotiating the said Treaty of Alliance, as incompatible with those of the Peace and Commerce concluded at *Utrecht* in the Reign of *Queen Anne*, and afterwards renew'd upon King *George's* Accession to the Crown : Since it is evident the Signing of the abovemention'd Treaty in the Month of *May 1716*, was a kind of Declaration of War against *Spain* ; in regard that *England* engaging in that Treaty to maintain the House of *Austria* in the Possession of all their Rights and Claims, publicly espous'd their Cause against *Spain*, with which the said House of *Austria* had not yet made a Peace ; because they refus'd to quit the Possession of several Dominions belonging to that Crown. How reasonable and well grounded soever these Complaints appear'd to the Cardinal, which the Marquess *de Monteleone*, Ambassador of *Spain* at the *British* Court, made to King *George*, in the Name of the King his Master ; no other Answer

swer was return'd, than that the Treaty of 1716 was not concluded without the Knowledge of the King his Master; since M. Bubb, who was then charg'd with the Care of the *British* Interest at the Court of *Madrid*, had communicated it to King *Philip*, before it was sign'd: To this Answer it was added, That his Catholick Majesty had no reason to complain, since an Alliance of the like Nature was propos'd to him. Cardinal *Alberoni* judg'd a new Alliance between the two Crowns to be altogether needless, especially at the Time that it was offer'd; since there was no Treaty capable of making a more strict Union between them than that of *Utrecht*, which having re-establish'd Peace and a good Correspondence between *Spain* and *England*, appear'd to the Cardinal in all respects incompatible with that which King *George* then concluded with the only Enemy of the *Spanish* Monarchy. Lastly, the Cardinal, who seem'd not to be so well appriz'd, as he ought to have been, of the Posture of Affairs in *England*, and of the Superiority of the Court Party in the Parliament; either did not penetrate into the *Primum Mobile* of the Measures taken by the Ministers of *London*, or thought (which is probable) that the *British* Nation would never consent to any Step, that might occasion their losing the Advantages they reap'd from their amicable Correspondence with *Spain*, for the sake of espousing the Cause of a Prince, with whom that Nation (as one may say) had no Commerce: But the Sequel has made it appear, that the Cardinal did not then conceive a right Notion of the Matter.

During

During all these Transactions, the Marquess *de Lede* did not let slip the least Opportunity that might promote the entire Conquest of *Sardinia*. The Marquess *Ruby* was surpriz'd in his Retreat by a Detachment commanded by Count *Pozuela*, against whom the Marquess valiantly defended himself four Hours, till having lost above half his Convoy, which only consisted of 150 Horse, and being wounded in the Arm, he made his escape into a Wood in the Disguise of a Peasant, leaving to the Mercy of the *Spaniards* the Count *San Antonio* General of the Gallies of *Sardinia*, who was taken Prisoner with six or seven Officers: These were the first Fruits of the Triumph, and great Care was taken to convey them forthwith into *Spain*. The Marquess *Ruby* retir'd to *Larghero* or *Algeri*, a Place in a sufficient Condition of Defence, situate seventy Miles from *Cagliari*, on the Western Coast of the Island, where he met with part of the Regiment of *Hamilton*, sent thither from the *Milanese*, as soon as notice was given there of the Descent of the *Spaniards*. The Vice-Roy did not stay long at *Larghero*, and had scarce Time to provide for the Defence of that Place and of *Castel Arragonefe*, 36 Miles on the North of *Larghero*, when he receiv'd Advice that *Cagliari* had capitulated; and that *Sassari* lying between *Larghero* and *Castel Arragonefe*, and being the Capital City of the Northern Part of the Island, dignify'd with an Archiepiscopal See, had declar'd for the *Spaniards*, who were become Masters of the whole Island, except those two Places: So that being continually apprehensive of falling into the Hands of the *Spaniards*, he
quitted

Cardinal ALBERONI. III

quitted *Sardinia*, and retir'd to *Genoa*, with some Noblemen of the Island that adher'd to the Interest of the House of *Austria*. His Departure was soon follow'd by the Surrender of the two only Places, where he had left a Garrison. Thus the Marquess *de Lede* compleated the Conquest of this Kingdom in two Months.

The Advice of these Proceedings receiv'd at *Madrid*, caus'd Cardinal *Alberoni* to take Courage, who suspecting that the *Germans* might make a longer Resistance, began to despair of the Success of that Enterprize, on which depended that of the Project he had form'd against the other Dominions of *Italy*. On the other hand, the Ministers of *France* and *England* did not cease solliciting the Court to suspend the Execution of those Projects, into the Secret of which they could not penetrate: For how mysterious soever the Conduct of Ministers of State may for the most part appear to be, yet it's known that somewhat is usually let fall on which a Conjecture may be groundd: But upon this Occasion, since the Armament of the *Spaniards*, as little Insight has been got into their Designs, as if the War were but just begun, which has given upon good Grounds a great Idea of the Cardinal's Capacity, who not being able to do every thing himself, had the Judgment to pitch upon Persons so very faithful in keeping the Secret so inviolably: He made use of the good Dispositions he found the King in, (upon the Arrival of the Courier that brought the News of the Surrender of the whole Island of *Sardinia*) to incite that Prince to pursue a Project, the Beginnings of which were so successful; and to answer the Ministers of *France* and *England* with

with a firm Resolution. His Catholick Majesty expressing to him the Satisfaction he had in his Conduct, gave him full Power to act as he should think fit in carrying on the projected Design. The Cardinal made the first Use of his Power, by giving those Ministers whom his Conduct had made uneasy, a satisfactory Answer, at least in Appearance; and assur'd them that the King his Master sacrificing his own Interest to the Tranquility of *Europe*, would content himself for the present with the Conquest of *Sardinia*, and that they might assure their Masters of it. He immediately dispatch'd Instructions to the *Spanish* Ministers at *London*, at *Paris*, and at the *Hague*, to give the same Assurances to the Sovereigns at whose Courts they resided; and to adjust all their Answers, to all the Remonstrances that might be made to them, according to that Plan.

However, he us'd no less Expedition to forward the raising of new Regiments, and refitting of the Ships come back from *Sardinia*; to cause others to be bought in all Ports, and others to be launch'd in all the Docks of *Spain*; to erect good Magazines on all the Coasts, and punctually to defray all the Expences necessary for so great Preparations. So that all *Europe* was in the greatest Surprize to see *Spain*, whose Treasure some Years ago seem'd to be so exhausted, that she was in no Capacity to fit out a small Fleet to Sea, should now find Resources sufficient to answer all the Charges incur'd to this Instant; and those Sums of Money that are propos'd to be laid out, in order to have one of the most considerable Fleets at Sea, and an Army capable of putting vast Designs in Execution.

How-

Cardinal ALBERONI. 113

However, *England* did not suffer herself to be decoy'd by the fair Promises of the *Spanish* Minister; and while she made a shew of believing every thing that was told her, she regulated her Conduct even according to that of *Spain*: And as the latter continu'd without Intermision to make great Preparations, so the Ministry of *London* lost no time in fitting out a numerous Fleet capable of making Head against that of *Spain*.

While this pass'd, the Means of Negotiation were not neglected: Colonel *Stanhope* was sent to *Madrid* to join with *M. Bubb*, and the Court of *France* dispatch'd thither the *Marquess de Nancré*. These Ministers had ample Instructions to negotiate (if it were possible) an Accommodation between the Court of *Spain* and the Emperor, who had in some Measure refer'd his Interest to King *George*, desiring his Assistance by virtue of the Treaty of Alliance of 1716.

The *Abbot du Bois* went to *London* to concert the necessary Measures with his Britannic Majesty, whose Armament did also give some Jealousy to *France*.

In the mean while, the King of *Sicily* gave Umbrage to all his Neighbours. The Emperor believing him to be in concert with *Spain*, was apprehensive that he would favour a Descent on the Kingdom of *Naples*, by falling into the *Milanese*, which was the Cause that the Prince of *Leeuwenstein*, Governor of *Milan*, lost no time in putting into a Posture of Defence all the Places of that *Dutchy*, that appear'd most exposed to the first Insults of such a Neighbour. The Pope, and the other Princes of *Italy*, as well as *Spain*, taking notice of the Proceedings of this

I

Prince,

and T " V

Prince, who had sent some of his Ministers to the Court of *Vienna* (where it was reported that a Marriage was negotiating between an Arch-dutchess and the Prince of *Piedmont*) were, in a manner, persuaded, that he only waited for the first Opportunity to declare for the Emperor. *Spain*, more especially, conceiv'd a greater Jealousy than the others, when having caus'd an Alliance to be propos'd to his *Sicilian* Majesty, he only receiv'd loose Answers, or Proposals so extravagant, that it might be easily perceiv'd that the said Prince only aim'd to spin out the Business, in order to make his own Advantage of the first favourable Opportunity. This induc'd the Cardinal to write to the King of *Sicily*, and to offer him the following Articles of Alliance.

I. "That there should be an offensive and defensive League between the two Kings, for as long a time as that of *Sicily* should desire.

II. "That *Spain*, after having subdued the Kingdom of *Naples*, and not sooner, should provide and maintain at her proper Cost, during the War in *Lombardy*, 3000 Horse and 12000 Foot, to carry on the Conquest of the State of *Milan*, jointly with the Troops of the King of *Sicily*; and farther be obliged to maintain a Fleet in the Seas of *Italy*.

III. "That *Spain* should yield and deliver up the State of *Milan* to the King of *Sicily*.

IV. "That *Spain* should continue the War, till the entire State of *Milan* be subdued, and as long as the King of *Sicily* should think fit.

V. "That

Cardinal ALBERONI. 115

V. " That in the mean while, and by way of
" *Depositem*, the King of *Sicily* should deliver up
" *Sicily* into the Hands of the King of *Spain* ;
" who, in consideration of this *Depositem*, should
" remit to the King of *Sicily* a Million of
" Crowns, to make a Levy of Soldiers.

These Preliminaries of a much longer Treaty
were accompany'd with a Letter from the Car-
dinal to the King, in which his Eminency mag-
nify'd to his *Sicilian* Majesty the Advantages
that would redound to him from this Alliance,
pressing him to send forthwith the most ample
Instructions to his Minister at *Madrid*, to adjust
this important Affair. The King of *Sicily*, who
only sought to gain time, to see on what Side
the Ballance would incline, return'd a long
Answer to the Cardinal, in which he entreated
him to assure his Catholic Majesty of his in-
violable Attachment to his Interest; and of his
sincere Disposition to enter into the strictest Alli-
ance with him on the following Terms:

I. " That the King should give him a Mil-
" lion of Crowns to take the Field.

II. " That his Majesty should remit to him
" every Month a Subsidy of 2000 Crowns, to
" carry on the War.

III. " That the King should cause 12000
" Men to march into the State of *Milan*, to
" join the Troops of *Piedmont*.

IV. " That at the same time the *Spanish*
" Army should attack the Kingdom of *Naples* ;
" and that the Garrisons of the conquer'd
" Towns should consist of one half *Spanish* ;

" and

“and the other half *Piedmontese*, under *Piedmontese* Governors and *Spanish* Commanders.

V. “That after the reducing of the Kingdom of *Naples*, 20000 Men of the Troops of his Catholic Majesty should enter the *Milanese*, to join the Troops of *Piedmont*, observing, with respect to the Conquests in that Country, the same Regulation as in the Kingdom of *Naples*.

VI. “That the Contributions rais’d in the State of *Milan* should be equally divided between the Confederate Powers.

VII. “That the Winter-Quarters should be entirely at the Disposal of his *Sicilian* Majesty.

VIII. “That since his Catholic Majesty could not send Artillery into the *Milanese*, his *Sicilian* Majesty should provide him with Ammunition, upon Condition that his Catholic Majesty should defray all the Charges.

The Cardinal not being so mere a Novice in Politics, as not to perceive what was the Import of such an Answer, was confirm’d in his Sentiments, that there was some Juggle between the Courts of *Vienna* and *Turin*. And the Court of *France* also, after having sent the Count de Medavi to *Turin*, without being able to dive into the King of *Sicily*’s Views, judg’d it a point of Prudence to repel Armament by Armament, and caus’d a Body of Troops to march into *Dauphine*.

The Court of *Rome* had scarce made a Peace with that of *Spain*, by granting the Cardinal’s Hat to the Abbot *Alberoni*, when that Minister’s

good Fortune occasion'd new Broils between the two Courts.

The Bishop of *Malaga* dying, King *Philip* gratify'd the new Cardinal with that Bishopric, the Revenue of which amounts to above 70000 Crowns, and the Pope immediately dispatch'd his Bulls to him for that purpose: These were no sooner sent from *Rome*, when Advice was brought thither that the Cardinal *de Arias*, Archbishop of *Sevil*, having likewise paid his Tribute to Nature, the King had nominated the Cardinal to that rich Archbishopric; and that his Eminency having resign'd the Bishopric of *Malaga*, his Majesty had dispos'd of it in Favour of another. The Imperial Minister laid hold of this Opportunity to insinuate to the Pope, that his Holiness would disoblige his Imperial Majesty, if he were so easily persuaded to grant those new Bulls to Cardinal *Alberoni*, with whom his Imperial Majesty had so much Reason to be dissatisfy'd, since he look'd upon him as the Author of the War with *Spain*; a new Perplexity for the Sovereign Pontiff, who was desirous to follow his temporizing Plan, and to carry it fair to both Parties: Thus, without refusing to gratify the Cardinal with his Bulls, he put off the actual granting of them, under colour of maintaining the Ecclesiastical Discipline, which requir'd that the Cardinal should receive the Bulls for his Bishopric of *Malaga*, and that he should afterwards resign it, before he could be in a Capacity of being provided with the Archbishopric of *Sevil*. Cardinal *Acquaviva* gave Advice to the Court of *Madrid* of what had pass'd upon this Occasion; and that Court immediately resented the Affront in such a Manner, that they

threaten'd the Court of *Rome* with a new Rupture.

The Court of *Vienna* was so far persuaded of the Pope's Connivance, in Favour of the *Spanish* Party, that all the Turns and Wiles practis'd by his Holiness could not convince them of the contrary, nor hinder the Count *de Gallas* from asking the Holy Father for a more real Security, by requiring his Consent to the following Demands.

- I. " That he should renounce his Claim to
" the Investiture of the Kingdoms of *Naples*
" and *Sicily*.
- II. " That the Dutchy of *Benevento* be restor'd
" to the Crown of *Naples*.
- III. " That the Emperor alone, as King of
" *Naples*, should have the Collation of the 24
" Bishoppries of that Kingdom.
- IV. " That the Bishops only should have the
" Right of bestowing Benefices on their Dio-
" cesans, without the Concurrence or the Alter-
" native of the Datary.
- V. " That the Datary cannot reserve to him-
" self Pensions out of the Benefices.
- VI. " That the Bishops and Benefices of the
" Kingdom of *Naples* be exempt from the first
" Fruits.
- VII. " That the Laity of this Kingdom be
" no more cited to *Rome*.
- VIII. " That the Tribunal of the Nuncia-
" ture be suppress'd.

It may be easily imagin'd with what Disposition the Pope heard such Proposals, and whether it were as easy a Matter to get these Demands approved,

Cardinal ALBERONI. 119

approved, as to offer them. However, his Holiness conceiv'd an Indignation against them, which he could not express, but the Imperial Minister remark'd it. Upon this an Order was sent to the Viceroy of *Naples*, to send the Nuncio out of the Kingdom, and to put those Articles in Execution, as if they had the Pontiff's Consent, which was punctually performed. The Imperial Minister did not stop there, but requir'd the Holy Father to demand again the Hat of Cardinal *Alberoni*; and to constrain him not to reject this Request of the Emperor, he publickly charg'd the Cardinal with negotiating an Alliance between the Grand Seignor and King *Philip*; and distributed the Proofs of the Charge to the sacred College, in the following Piece.

“ For some Time past the Court of *Madrid*
 “ has carry'd on a detestable Correspondence
 “ with the *Ottoman* Porte, under the Direction of
 “ Cardinal *Alberoni*, their Prime Minister, by
 “ means of the Rebel *Ragotzki*, when he was in
 “ *France*; where, in the Monastery of the *Carmelites*, situate without the City of *Paris*,
 “ he, and some of his Adherents, had secret
 “ Conferences with the Prince *de Cellamare*, Embassador of the Duke of *Anjou*, at that
 “ Court.

“ He there concerted the Project of an Alliance between the Court of *Madrid* and the
 “ *Ottoman* Porte. A considerable Number of
 “ *French* Officers and Soldiers were list'd in his
 “ Service, and in that of the *Turks*; and a great
 “ Quantity of Ammunition and Arms was
 “ bought, which were to be sent to *Constantinople*,

“*tinople*, by way of *Marseilles* and *Tboulon*; the
 “Money necessary for that Purpose being
 “remitted by Cardinal *Alberoni* to the said
 “Prince *de Cellamare*, who told it over to *Ra-*
 “*gorzki*, besides a considerable Sum for his
 “Journey.

“There is a Letter writ by him to the said
 “Prince *de Cellamare*, dated the 26th of *Novem-*
 “*ber* last, from *Adrianople*; wherein he tells him,
 “That tho’ the Porte was under a great Conster-
 “nation, and in an extream Fear, nevertheless
 “they had taken a Resolution to continue the
 “War, upon the Offer he gave them of the Al-
 “liance of the Duke of *Anjou*; chiefly relying
 “on the Promise made by Cardinal *Alberoni*, to
 “carry the War into *Italy*, by which means the
 “Imperial Forces would be weaken’d and di-
 “minish’d in *Hungary*. He adds, that he had
 “so effectually represented to the Grand Vizier,
 “and by him to the Sultan, the great Advantage
 “that would redound to the Porte, from the
 “Alliance with the Court of *Madrid*, by the
 “Conquest that was already made of *Sardinia*,
 “that they would no longer hearken to the Per-
 “suasions of the Musti, and others who ad-
 “vis’d them to a Peace. So that the Continua-
 “tion of the War being resolv’d upon, all the
 “Bassa’s of the *Ottoman* Dominions were or-
 “der’d to raise new Troops; and the Captain
 “Bassa of the Naval Army was to augment
 “it with ten Sultana’s and eight Galleys for the
 “next Campaign, in a certain Assurance of gai-
 “ning all the Advantages they expected from
 “the Diversion made by that War the Duke of
 “*Anjou* is engaged in, not only to repair all for-
 “mer Losses, but even entirely to retrieve their
 “Affairs,

“ Affairs, that were miserably gone to wreck :
“ That the League being thus agreed upon and
“ accepted, the *Turks* press’d him to procure,
“ with all possible speed, the necessary full
“ Power from the Court of *Madrid*, for which
“ he had pass’d his Word.

“ And further, he gives an Account of the
“ extraordinary Honours confer’d upon him, the
“ great Reputation he got by so noble an Em-
“ bassy, and the extream Pleasure with which
“ the Porte receiv’d this Plan, more especially
“ the Proposal relating to the grand Affair, *viz.*
“ The projected Alliance : And that the Grand
“ Seignior declar’d, that his most ardent Desire,
“ and greatest Satisfaction, was to see thereby
“ the Increase of the Number of his Friends,
“ and the Diminution of that of his Enemies,
“ meaning *Spain*, which, till then, had been an
“ implacable Enemy to the Porte.

“ Lastly, He entreats the Prince *de Cellamare*,
“ to represent the whole forthwith to the Court
“ of *Madrid*, as he himself had already done to
“ Cardinal *Alberoni*; intimating that a more
“ favourable and proper Opportunity could not
“ be met with, in order to conclude so impor-
“ tant an Affair with Advantage, and to com-
“ pass the common Designs : So that nothing
“ ought to be neglected, because ’tis requisite to
“ strike the Iron while it is hot.

Cardinal *Acquaviva* no sooner heard what had
happen’d, but he demanded a private Audience
of the Holy Father, in which he declar’d to him,
that as it was his Duty to inform the Catholick
King and Cardinal *Alberoni* of what pass’d, he
would not do it upon a publick Report,
and

and that he desir'd to know his Holiness's Intentions on an Affair so extraordinary, and as great a Falshood as could be invented ; the Scandal of which reflected no less upon the King, than upon his Minister ; that indeed he was almost perswaded, that his Holiness gave no Credit to an Accusation, which was of such an heinous Nature, that it fell to the Ground of itself ; but that this was not sufficient, and that the King could not but take it ill, that his Holiness should suffer his Enemies to publish so detestable a Calumny even at the Gates of the *Vatican*.

The Holy Father could not forbear shedding Tears ; and opening himself without the least Reserve to Cardinal *Acquaviva*, conjur'd him calmly to consider the melancholy and perplex'd Situation of his Affairs, being environ'd with *German* Troops, who only wanted an Opportunity to mortify him, if he follow'd his own Inclination, which naturally carry'd him to espouse the Interests of his Catholick Majesty, to whom he would never fail to give Demonstration of his Readiness to do whatever might be agreeable to him, as soon as his Majesty should be strong enough in *Italy* to shelter him from any Enterprizes of the *Germans*. Cardinal *Acquaviva* did not doubt but his Holiness spoke sincerely. Besides, the Holy Father was provok'd at the Injury done to the Holy See by shutting up the Nuncio's Tribunal at *Naples*, sequestering his Revenues, those of the Dataray and of Vacant Benefices, by expelling *Vincentini* the Nuncio, lastly by the Order which the Nuncio at *Vienna* had receiv'd to appear no more at Court, but especially by the Proposal of the Articles above-mention'd, which in the Holy Father's Opinion carried

Cardinal ALBERONI. 123

carried in them the highest Affront that ever could be put upon the Holy See.

Cardinal *Acquaviva* inform'd the Cardinal Minister of all that was said and done upon this Occasion, and at the same time of the absolute Refusal of his Bulls, and of the Reasons alledg'd to him by the Holy Father.

Cardinal *Alberoni* was gall'd to the quick by the Proceedings of the Court of *Vienna* against himself; he plainly foresaw that he was to be the Butt of all their Resentment, and that they would spare nothing to be reveng'd upon him for the Conduct of the King his Master, and his Enterprizes against *Italy*. But this is no more than the common Fate of Favourites, especially of such, as owe all their Greatness to their Industry, and not to Birth; and all the Hatred which the World thinks they have cause to conceive against their Masters, commonly falls upon them only. But as he was piqu'd at the Conduct of the Council of *Austria*, so he was pierc'd with Grief to see the deplorable Condition of the Head of the Church; and the Thoughts which his Reflections thereupon suggested to him still confirm'd him in the Prosecution of his Designs, the Success of which might be serviceable for the Deliverance of the Holy Father, to whom he wrote the following Letter; which contains a great deal of Respect and Submission to his Holiness's Will, as to the Dispatch of his Bulls, and not a little Resolution and Resentment as to the Accusations and Memorial of Count *Gallas*.

Most

Most Holy Father,

I Have receiv'd by the Hands of Seignior *Al-*
drovandi, your Nuncio at this Court, your
 Holiness's Letter, and also the Paper which
 the Archduke's Minister put into your Holiness's Hands. If I should undertake to vindicate myself to you from all the Calumnies which it contains, it would be giving too much Reputation to the Lies spread by the Enemies of the King my Master. 'Tis enough for me therefore, that your Holiness, who knows his Catholick Majesty's Piety, his Zeal and Forwardness, with which, in Imitation of his Glorious Predecessors, he labours continually to extend the Catholick Religion to all Parts of his Monarchy : 'Tis enough for me, I say, that your Holiness in your Sovereign Wisdom has conceiv'd an Opinion of it, which such a Paper deserves. But what surprizes me most of all is, that the Court of *Vienna* should have Recourse to supposititious Facts, to blacken the Reputation of the Ministers of the King my Master, and obscure the Lustre of that Purple, with which your Holiness has out of your meer good Pleasure vouchsaf'd to honour me. Their extravagant Passion carries them so far, as to pretend, that his Catholick Majesty's Ministers ought to give them an Account of their Designs. This alone is a plain Indication to your Holiness and the whole World, to what a Degree the Court of *Vienna* have presum'd. I assure myself, that your Holiness will be fully satisfy'd in what I now lay before you, with all humble Submission, and
 that

"that you will not disdain to grant me your
 "Holy Benediction, which I implore upon my
 "Knees, &c.

But in order to overthrow these Accusations,
 the Prince of *Cellamare*, thro' whose Hand the
Austrian Ministry pretended that all this Ne-
 gotiation pass'd, wrote the following Letter to
 Cardinal *Acquaviva*.

"I receiv'd your Eminency's Letter of the
 "29th past, with a Paper intitul'd, *An Extract*
 "of all that the Archduke's Ambassador represented to
 "his Holiness, in an extraordinary Audience of Wed-
 "nesday, March the 16th, and afterwards to the
 "Sacred College of Cardinals. I own to your Emi-
 "nency, that when I saw with how many Cir-
 "cumstances they reported the imaginary Ne-
 "gotiations which it was pretended I manag'd
 "with Prince *Ragotzki*, towards concluding an
 "Alliance between the Court of *Madrid* and the
 "Ottoman Porte, I thought I was reading an art-
 "ful Romance, compos'd by some capricious
 "Virtuoso to divert the Publick; for tho' 'tis
 "commonly said in *Spain*, that a Lie always car-
 "ries some Truth in it, this is so perfectly the
 "Product of Falshood and Slander, that it has
 "not the least Appearance of Truth; for I can
 "assure your Eminency with all the Seriousness
 "that so nice an Affair deserves to be treated with,
 "that I never paid any Visit to Pr. *Ragotzki*, nei-
 "ther at his own Palace, nor at his Lodgings in
 "the Monastery of the *Carmelites*, and that all the
 "Discourse I ever had with him was in the Anti-
 "chamber of that Great Monarch *Lewis XIV.*
 "of glorious Memory, where we talk'd only of
 "in-

" indifferent Matters ; and after the King's
 " Death, I only saw him once by chance at the
 " Academy of the *Belles Lettres* which is kept at
 " the House of the Abbot de Dangeau. The
 " whole City of *Paris* was Witness of this great
 " Indifference, and that I had no Correspondence
 " with the said Prince while he was at
 " that City ; tho' there are as many long-sighted
 " Politicians at *Paris*, and perhaps more,
 " than in all the other Courts of the World,
 " who are capable of spying out the most
 " minute Transactions of Foreign Ministers.
 " After this Confession, your Eminency may
 " judge with what Astonishment and Contempt
 " I read over the said Extract, which is full of
 " Lies and idle Stories ; especially because I
 " know neither the Names nor Persons of Prince
 " *Ragotzki's* Treasurer and Banker, nor ever
 " heard the Mention of a certain *Polander*,
 " whom 'tis pretended I sent with Remittances
 " of Money to *Constantinople*. But what pro-
 " vokes me most is, that so great a Prince as the
 " Archduke, being deceiv'd and misled by double
 " and malicious Tongues, should give occasion
 " to his Minister at *Rome*, to take so scandalous
 " a Step upon so slender a Foundation, by pas-
 " sing such manifest Lies upon the Head of the
 " Church for real Truths ; and drawing Conse-
 " quences from them, so dishonourable to the
 " Ministers of a Monarch so great as the King
 " our Master. I am also of Opinion, that the
 " Letter which it is said Prince *Ragotzki* wrote
 " to me is entirely fictitious ; for as he had ne-
 " ver the least Correspondence with me, it could
 " never enter into his Head to write to me
 " about Treaties and Alliances which were ne-
 " ver

“ ver thought of; infomuch, that those who
 “ give Credit to such Fables, may be told by
 “ way of Banter, that the said Letter and pre-
 “ tended Treaty of Alliance betwixt Us and
 “ the *Ottomans* may be found at the end of ano-
 “ ther spurious and malicious Letter, which has
 “ been shewn at all the Taverns in *Italy*; and
 “ which the *German* Tools pretend to have
 “ been written by the Great *Turk* to the King
 “ our Master, thanking his Majesty for the Con-
 “ quest of *Sardinia*.

“ The Count *de Gallas*, before he took this
 “ wrong Step, should have inform’d himself bet-
 “ ter of the pretended Conferences, of the
 “ imaginary Voyages of the *Polander*, and of
 “ the Merchants who furnish’d me with the
 “ Remittances said to have been distributed for
 “ the Recruits of Officers and Soldiers, and
 “ for the buying Ammunition and Arms. In
 “ short, I can’t conceive how the Faction of
 “ the House of *Austria* could be guilty of such
 “ a mean piece of Baseness, as to make a sort
 “ of War against us, with Lies, Calumnies and
 “ Impostures, which are evident Proofs that
 “ in that Country they have no better Reasons
 “ to offer; and that being afraid of the clear
 “ Light of Truth, and the incontestable Justice
 “ of our Sovereign, *ad fabulas autem convertun-*
 “ *tur.**

“ I mention all this to your Eminency only
 “ for the sake of Truth, and to shew what the
 “ Malice and Falshood of a deprav’d Heart
 “ acted meerly by Self-Interest is capable of
 “ doing.

* *Merc. Hist. of August*, p. 201.

“ doing. For to reason fairly without preju-
 “ dice, I cannot see where would have been
 “ the Injustice or Scandal to give some sort of
 “ Assistance and Protection to Prince *Ragotzki*,
 “ so pious a Catholic as he seem’d to be in
 “ *France*, towards recovering an Estate for him
 “ which he thought lawfully belong’d to him,
 “ and towards giving a happy Diversion to the
 “ Forces of the implacable Enemies of our
 “ Monarchy; nor could it be an Objection by
 “ any pious Christians, that the same would
 “ indirectly stop the victorious Progress of the
 “ *Germans* against the Infidels, considering that
 “ their Ambition threatens the Liberty of *Italy*,
 “ and that as they are Masters of Part of the
 “ Ecclesiastical State, to the endangering the
 “ Tranquility of all *Europe*, the Law of Na-
 “ ture permits the applying of a Remedy to
 “ imminent Danger; and if we were to consult
 “ Histories, we shall find this Maxim autho-
 “ riz’d by ancient and venerable Examples; and
 “ that at those Times when Crusades were pub-
 “ lish’d for the Conquest of the Holy Land,
 “ the Popes found themselves oblig’d to publish
 “ one against the Emperor, and to employ,
 “ against the Rage and Impiety of the *Ger-
 mans*, the same Swords they had drawn in
 “ the Name of Jesus Christ against the Infidels;
 “ and of this there are Instances enough to fur-
 “ nish a Volume. But as this is not our Case,
 “ I think that what I have set before your Emi-
 “ nency is enough to open the Eyes of the Vul-
 “ gar, who, under the specious Name of Reli-
 “ gion, suffer themselves to be easily deceiv’d by
 “ the like Falshood. The Partisans of the House
 “ of *Austria*, who at this Time so much urge
 “ the

“ the Objection, ought to remember that their
 “ Prince, when he came into *Spain*, assisted by
 “ Troops of different Religions, made no Ac-
 “ count of the Wrongs and Slights put upon
 “ the Catholic Religion before his Eyes.

N. P. de CELLAMARE.

The Pope found himself at such a nonplus, that he thought of procuring an Accommodation between the Emperor and the King of *Spain*; and a very fair Opportunity seem'd to offer itself for that End, because the *Turks* seem'd to repent of having hearken'd to Proposals of Peace; so that if they had been oblig'd to make another Campaign in *Hungary*, the Emperor, who would have had occasion for all his Forces there, would not have been in a Condition to oppose the Conquests of the *Spaniards* in *Italy*. The Holy Father open'd his Mind to the Count de *Gallas*, who wrote about it to *Vienna*, where his Holiness's pacific Intentions were not much regarded. The Pope was not inform'd of what pass'd in those Countries where he was not consulted, otherwise he would not have hazarded his Credit to the Contempt which was then manifested for his Mediation. He did not know, that if the Emperor could not defend himself, he had Allies who would stir for him in good earnest. In short, the King of *England* was as zealous to break the Measures of the *Spaniards*, as they were to succeed. This Prince set two great Engines at Work at the same Time, the one a numerous Fleet under the Conduct of an able Admiral, and the other, the Method of Negotiations.

K

In

In a Word, while they were Arming in the Ports of *England*, his *British* Majesty consult-ed how to make himself Mediator in the *Mediterranean*, as he was already in *Hungary*; and he thought the only Means for this End, would be to act in concert with the Regent of *France*, who, being a Kinsman and Ally of the King of *Spain*, might be capable of inclining him to some Project of Peace, while himself labour'd for the same End with the Emperor, to which he was authoriz'd by the Obligations of the Alliance.

My Lord *Stairs*, who went to *Paris* after the Treaty of Triple Alliance between *France*, *England* and the *States-General*, was charg'd to sift the Regent upon this Head; and this Minister found him dispos'd to concur with all his Might for procuring a Peace to *Europe*. As the Situation of Affairs at that Juncture requir'd that no Time should be lost, the Abbot *du Bois* being inform'd of his Royal Highness's Intentions repair'd to *London*. It was fit that that Minister, who had already labour'd for Peace with so much Success, should have the last Hand in finishing it. Therefore, with his Britannic Majesty's Favour, my Lord *Stanhope* and other Ministers, in conjunction with the Abbot *du Bois*, drew up the famous Project of *Accommodation*, which was forthwith communicated to the Regent. This Prince perceiv'd immediately that they had not taken due care therein of his Catholick Majesty's Interests, and having regard to the Honour of the Court of *Madrid*, he judg'd at first that the Restitution of *Sardinia*, which was stipulated by one of the Articles, would meet with great Obstacles. His Royal High-

ness

ness judg'd also, that it would not be sufficient to regulate the Succession to *Tuscany* in Favour of an Infant; and that the Faith of Treaties alone would not be capable of transferring that Dominion to the Prince for whom it was design'd. Therefore, he was for adding to the fifth Article all the sixteenth Paragraph, which establish'd *Swiss* Garrisons in those Dominions; and engages them to defend the same against all Aggressors; and to deliver them to none but the Infant Prince. This Addition seem'd so reasonable to King *George*, that it was made without any difficulty; but that which related to *Sardinia*, was not so easily got over. His *Britannic* Majesty agreed indeed, that the Regent was in the right; and that perhaps the King of *Spain* might also offer some plausible Reason for not restoring it; but he declar'd on the other hand, that he doubted whether the Emperor would approve the Project without this Clause; wherefore he sent Orders to his Minister at *Vienna*, to sift the Intentions of his Imperial Majesty upon this Article, which somewhat retard'd the Conclusion of the Affair. The *British* Minister found the Emperor inflexible; That Prince saw that the War in *Hungary* was drawing to an end, and that he should have more Troops at his Disposal, than would be necessary for defending all his Dominions in *Italy*; therefore he answer'd resolutely, that he was highly oblig'd to his Majesty for the Pains he took to bring *Spain* to an Accommodation; but that he insisted on it as a Preliminary, that all Things should be re-establish'd as they were before the Invasion of *Sardinia*; and that he was resolv'd not to yield his Enemy an Inch of Ground.

Upon this Foot therefore, a Project of Accommodation was drawn up at *London*, and sent to the Regent to be communicated to the King of *Spain*, while his *Britannick* Majesty employ'd all his Interest with the Emperor, to make him accept it. The Marquess *de Nancré* was sent to *Madrid*, to act in concert with the Duke of *St. Aignan* and Colonel *Stanhope*, and to endeavour, in Conjunction with them, to remove all the Objections which the Cardinal might offer; and lastly, to assure the Catholick King *viva voce*, that his Most Christian Majesty would engage to procure him the Restitution of *Gibraltar*, which Article had been agreed upon with the King of *England*, but not inserted in the Project of Accommodation, for fear of incensing the *British* Nation, who had the Preservation of that Key of the *Mediterranean* very much at Heart.

The Cardinal had form'd his own Plan, and insisted on it with his usual Firmness. He receiv'd the Proposals of those three Ministers, and pretended he would sign them only to gain Time, while he flatter'd them with the most agreeable Expectations. In the mean while every thing was preparing in the Ports of *Barcelona*, *Alican*, *Cadiz* and *Cagliari*, for some Action which was to startle all *Europe*, at least as much as the Enterprize on *Sardinia*. *England* on her Part hasten'd the Armament of the Fleet which she design'd for the *Mediterranean*, and which was to consist of twenty two Ships of the Line, two Fireships, two Bomb-Gallies and an Hospital-Ship. The Cardinal, who was far from being idle at the same Time, did not only apply himself to the Preparations for War, but

but took great Pains to procure a Peace nearer Home. This Peace had a View to the Towns which the Crown of *Spain* still possesses upon the North Coast of *Africa* towards the *Straits*, and upon the Confines of the Dominions of the Kings of *Fez* and *Morocco*. The great Armaments which *Spain* made, and the Design of which was less known in *Africa* than *Europe*, alarm'd those of *Morocco*, who have block'd up *Ceuta* by Land for several Years; and who imagining that all these vast Preparations might have a View to them, and that *Spain* would fall into their Country with all their Forces, the Governor of *Ceuta* receiv'd Expresses from the Court of *Morocco*, with several Projects of a Peace, and such as were very honourable to the Crown of *Spain*; for the *African* King offer'd to restore all the Places which he had taken upon that Coast, and particularly *Oran*, the Conquest of which had cost him so much Blood and Money. The Cardinal Minister did not neglect so fair an Opportunity to deliver *Spain* from a War, in a manner Hereditary, and which oblig'd her to have always a small Fleet at Sea; therefore the Governor of *Ceuta* receiv'd all the Instructions necessary for bringing the Affair to a good Issue.

The Cardinal's Thoughts were no less intent on Domestick Affairs; and he gave all the necessary Orders for executing such Projects as might contribute to the Ease of the People, to the Glory of the Nation, and the Advantage of the King. To him is owing the Establishment of several Manufactures, both profitable and necessary. To him were owing the Alterations made in the Customs, by taking them from the Inland Towns, and re-establishing them in the Sea Ports. To

him is owing the Farming of Tobacco, from which the King expects to reap such vast Advantages; and those considerable Sums which return'd into the King's Treasury, and which he forc'd the chief Farmers, who had enrich'd themselves at the Expence of the Prince and People, to disgorge. All these Things cou'd not be regulated without very many Difficulties, which the Cardinal always surmounted by his unshaken Firmness, which is so natural to him, that he never recedes from what he has once undertaken. Indeed, he seasons it with a certain deceitful Flattery, but he generally succeeds in it, and scarce undertakes any thing till he has examin'd and weigh'd all the Consequences, foreseen and obviated all the Difficulties; and as soon as a Project seems impracticable to him, how fair and plausible soever it seem'd to him at first, he abandons it without any Fondness.

But amidst all these Affairs, he gave himself especially to the most important, namely the Affair of *Italy*, the Success of which he look'd upon as infallible. But the Instances made to the King by the Ministers of those Princes who were Authors of the Project of Accommodation continually alarm'd him, for fear lest his Catholick Majesty should suffer himself at length to be perswaded. Therefore, to prevent a Blow so fatal to his Designs, and as he thought to his own Honour, he obtain'd a Conference with the King upon the Tenor of the eight Articles of this Project, which were:

I. " For redressing the late Troubles which
 " have arisen contrary to the Treaty concluded
 " at *Baden* the 7th of *September* 1714, and to the
 " Neutrality establish'd for *Italy*, by the Treaty of
 " *March*

“ March 24, 1713, the Most Serene and Most
 “ Potent King of *Spain* engages to restore to
 “ his Imperial Majesty, and will effectually re-
 “ store to him, immediately after the Exchange
 “ of the Ratifications of the present Treaty, or
 “ in two Months after at farthest, the Island
 “ and Kingdom of *Sardinia*, in the Condition it
 “ was in when taken; and shall renounce, in Fa-
 “ vour of his Imperial Majesty, all his Rights,
 “ Pretensions, Pleas, and Actions, upon the said
 “ Kingdom; so that his Imperial Majesty shall
 “ be at as full Liberty to dispose thereof, as of
 “ Things to him appertaining, in such a Manner
 “ as he has resolv’d on for the publick Good.

II. “ As the only means to be found for estab-
 “ lishing a lasting Balance of Power in *Europe*,
 “ has been to regulate the Succession of the
 “ Crowns of *France* and *Spain*, so as that they may
 “ never be reunited on one and the same Head,
 “ nor in one and the same Line; and that these
 “ two Monarchies may remain for ever separate;
 “ and whereas for confirming a Regulation, so
 “ necessary for the publick Tranquility, the
 “ Princes, who, by their Birth, might have a
 “ Right to those two Successions, have solemnly
 “ renounc’d, each of them separately, for them-
 “ selves, and for all their Posterity; and where-
 “ as the said Separation of the two Monarchies
 “ is become a Fundamental Law, which has
 “ been recogniz’d by the States-General, com-
 “ monly call’d the Cortes assembled at *Madrid*,
 “ November 9, 1712, and confirm’d by the
 “ Treaties concluded at *Utrecht*, April 11, 1713.
 “ His Imperial Majesty, to give the utmost Per-
 “ fection to a Law so necessary and so wholsom,
 “ and to leave no cause of ill Suspicion for the

“ future, and being desirous to confirm the pub-
 “ lick Tranquility, accepts and consents to the
 “ Dispositions made, regulated and confirm’d by
 “ the Treaty of *Utrecht*, touching the Right
 “ and Order of Succession to the Kingdoms of
 “ *France* and *Spain*, and renounces as well for
 “ himself as for his Heirs, Descendants and Suc-
 “ cessors, Male and Female, all Rights and Pre-
 “ tensions in general whatsoever, without Ex-
 “ ception, to all the Kingdoms, Countries and
 “ Provinces of the *Spanish* Monarchy, of which
 “ the Catholick King has been own’d lawful
 “ Possessor, by the Treaties of *Utrecht*; pro-
 “ mising moreover to give authentick Acts of
 “ Renunciation thereof, in all the best Form, to
 “ cause them to be publish’d and register’d
 “ where need shall be, and to furnish Copies
 “ thereof, in the manner accusom’d, to his Ca-
 “ tholick Majesty and the contracting Powers.

III. “ In consequence of the said Renuncia-
 “ tion, which his Imperial Majesty has made,
 “ thro’ the Desire which he has to contribute to
 “ the Repose of all *Europe*; and because the
 “ Duke of *Orleans* has renounc’d, for him and his
 “ Descendants, all his Rights and Pretensions
 “ to the Kingdom of *Spain*, on condition that
 “ the Emperor, nor none of his Descendants,
 “ may ever succeed to the said Kingdom, his
 “ Imperial Majesty owns King *Philip V* for
 “ lawful King of the Monarchy of *Spain* and
 “ the *Indies*; promises to give him the Titles
 “ and Characters due to his Rank, and to his
 “ Kingdoms; to let him peaceably enjoy, with
 “ his Descendants, Heirs and Successors, Male
 “ and Female, all the Dominions of the *Spanish*
 “ Monarchy in *Europe*, in the *Indies*, and else-
 “ where,

“ where, the Possession of which was confirm’d
 “ to him by the Treaty of *Utrecht*, not to dis-
 “ turb him directly nor indirectly in the said
 “ Possession, and never to form any Pretension
 “ to the said Kingdoms and Provinces.

IV. “ In consideration of the Renunciation
 “ and Acknowledgment which his Imperial Ma-
 “ jesty has made, by the two foregoing Ar-
 “ ticles, the Catholick King renounces recipro-
 “ cally, as well for himself as for his Heirs,
 “ Descendants, and Successors, Male and Fe-
 “ male, all Rights and Pretensions whatsoever,
 “ without Exception, to all the Kingdoms,
 “ Countries and Provinces, which his Imperial
 “ Majesty possesses in *Italy*, and in the *Nether-*
 “ *lands*, or which he ought to possess there, by
 “ vertue of the former Treaty; and, in general,
 “ all the Rights, Kingdoms and Countries in
 “ *Italy*, which belong’d heretofore to the *Spanish*
 “ Monarchy, among which the Marquisate of
 “ *Final*, yielded by his Majesty to the Repub-
 “ lick of *Genoa*, in 1713, is to be deem’d ex-
 “ pressly included, promising to give the solemn
 “ Acts of Renunciation heretofore declar’d, in
 “ the best Manner and Form, to cause them to
 “ be publish’d and register’d, where need shall
 “ be; and to furnish Copies thereof to his Im-
 “ perial Majesty, and the contracting Powers,
 “ in the usual Manner. His Catholick Majesty
 “ renounces, in like manner, the Right of Re-
 “ version to the Crown of *Spain*, which he had
 “ reserv’d himself to the Kingdom of *Sicily*; and
 “ all other Acts and Pretensions, which might
 “ serve him for a Pretext to disturb the Emperor,
 “ his Heirs and Successors, directly or indirectly,
 “ either in the said Kingdoms and States, or in
 “ those

“ those which he actually possesses in the *Nether-*
 “ *lands*, and any where besides.

V. “ As the Gap, which would be in the
 “ Succession to the Dominions, now possess’d by
 “ the Grand Duke of *Tuscany*, and by the Duke
 “ of *Parma* and *Placentia*, in case they and their
 “ Successors should come to die without Male
 “ Issue, might occasion a new War in *Italy*, on
 “ one Hand, by the Rights which the present
 “ Queen of *Spain*, born Dutchess of *Parma*,
 “ claims to the said Succession, after the Decease
 “ of the lawful Heirs that are nearer than her ;
 “ and, on the other hand, by the Rights which
 “ the Emperor and Empire claim to the said
 “ Dutchy, in order to prevent the sad Conse-
 “ quences of these Disputes, it is agreed, that
 “ the said Dominions or Dutchies, now possess’d
 “ by the Grand Duke of *Tuscany*, and by the
 “ Duke of *Parma* and *Placentia*, shall be recog-
 “ niz’d and unquestionably reputed for the fu-
 “ ture, and for ever, by all the contracting Par-
 “ ties, as Masculine Fiefs of the Holy Roman
 “ Empire ; and whenever the Succession to the
 “ said Dutchies happens to fail for want of
 “ Male Successors, his Imperial Majesty consents
 “ for himself, as Head of the Empire, that the
 “ eldest Son of the Queen of *Spain*, and his
 “ Male Issue born in lawful Wedlock ; and on
 “ Failure of them, the second Son, or the other
 “ Cadets of the said Queen, if she has any, as
 “ likewise their Male Issue born in lawful Wed-
 “ lock, shall succeed to all the said Dominions,
 “ and as the Consent of the Empire is requisite
 “ for that End, his Imperial Majesty shall use
 “ all Diligence to obtain it, and after he has so
 “ obtain’d it, he shall cause Letters *Expectativa*

“ to

“ to be dispatch’d, containing the eventual In-
 “ vestiture for the Son or Sons of the said Queen,
 “ and their lawful Issue Male, in due and pro-
 “ per Form, and shall cause them to be deliver’d
 “ soon after into the Hands of his Catholick
 “ Majesty, or, at least, within two Months
 “ after the Exchange of the Ratifications; pro-
 “ vided nevertheless, that no Damage or Pre-
 “ judice be done to the Possession of the Princes,
 “ who now hold the said Dutchies, and that
 “ they remain secure in all Points.

“ Their Imperial and Catholick Majesties
 “ agree that *Leghorn* shall remain for ever a free
 “ Port, in the same Manner as it now is.

“ In consequence of the Renunciation which
 “ the King of *Spain* has made to all the King-
 “ doms, Countries and Provinces in *Italy*, which
 “ formerly belong’d to the Kings of *Spain*, he
 “ shall yield and give up to the Prince, his Son,
 “ the Town and Harbour of *Porto Longone*, with
 “ what his Catholick Majesty actually possesses
 “ in the Isle of *Elbe*, as soon as that, by the
 “ Vacancy of the Succession to the Grand Duke
 “ of *Tuscany*, for want of Male Issue, the said
 “ Prince of *Spain* shall be put in actual Possession
 “ of the said Dominions.

“ It is moreover regulated and solemnly stipu-
 “ lated, that none of the said Dutchies and Do-
 “ minions can or ought at any time, or in any
 “ Case whatsoever, to be possess’d by any
 “ Prince, who shall be at the same time King of
 “ *Spain*; and that no King of *Spain* shall ever
 “ be Guardian to the said Prince of *Tuscany*.

“ Finally, ’tis agreed by all and every one of
 “ the contracting Parties, and they likewise en-
 “ gage one another, that during the Lives of

“ the

" the present Possessors of the Dutchies of *Tus-*
 " *cany* and *Parma*, or of their Issue Male, they
 " will not permit the Emperor, and the Kings of
 " *France* and *Spain*, and the Prince design'd, as
 " above, for the said Succession, ever to intro-
 " duce any Soldiers, of what Nation soever they
 " are, either of their own Troops, or others in
 " their Pay, into the Countries and Territories
 " of the said Dutchies, nor to establish Garri-
 " sons, in the Towns, Ports, Citadels and For-
 " tresses therein situate.

" But in order to provide still greater Secu-
 " rity against all manner of Events, for the Suc-
 " cession of the said Son of the Queen of *Spain*,
 " who is intended, by this Treaty, to succeed to
 " the great Duke of *Tuscany*, and to the Duke of
 " *Parma* and *Placentia*; and to render him more
 " certain of the Execution of what is promis'd
 " him for the said Succession, and also to secure
 " from all Infringement the Feodalty establish'd
 " on the said Dominions, in Favour of the Em-
 " peror and Empire, it is agreed on both Sides,
 " that the *Swiss Cantons* shall Garrison the chief
 " Places of those Dominions, viz. *Leghorn*, *Por-*
 " *toferrajo*, *Parma* and *Placentia*, with a Body of
 " Troops not exceeding 6000 Men; and for this
 " End the three contracting Parties, who act as
 " Mediators, shall pay the said *Cantons* the ne-
 " cessary Subsidies for their Maintenance; and
 " they shall remain there till such a Circum-
 " stance happen in the said Succession; and then
 " they shall be oblig'd to deliver to the Prince,
 " design'd to inherit, the Places committed to
 " their keeping; provided nevertheless that this
 " cause no Prejudice nor Expence to the present
 " Possessors and their Male Successors, to whom
 " the

“ the said Troops shall take an Oath of Fidelity, and take no other Authority upon them, but to defend the Places of which they shall have the keeping.

“ And forasmuch as the Time that may be spent in agreeing with the *Swiss Cantons*, about the Number of those Troops, the Subsidies to be granted them, and the manner of raising them, may, perhaps, too much delay a Work so salutary, his sacred *Britannick* Majesty, out of the sincere Desire he has to forward it, and to attain the sooner to the Re-establishment of the publick Tranquility, which is the sole End propos’d, will not refuse, if the other Powers shall think fit, to furnish his own Troops for the Use above-mention’d, till such time as those which shall be rais’d in *Swisserland* can be ready to guard the said Places.

VI. “ His Catholick Majesty, to give a sincere Proof of his good Intentions for the publick Tranquility, consents to the Disposition which shall be made hereafter of the Kingdom of *Sicily*, in Favour of the Emperor, and renounces for himself and his Heirs and Successors, Male and Female, the Right of Reversion of the said Kingdom to the Crown of *Spain*, which was expressly reserv’d to him by the Act of Cession, of *January 10, 1713*; and, for the publick Good, derogates as far as may be necessary, from the said Act of the 10th of *June 1713*, and from the sixth Article of the Treaty concluded at *Utrecht*, between his Catholick Majesty and his Royal Highness the Duke of *Savoy*; and, in general, from whatsoever may be contrary to the making

king over again, Disposition and Exchange of the said Kingdom of *Sicily*, according as it is stipulated by the present Conventions; on Condition nevertheless, that in Exchange, the Right of Reversion to the Isle and Kingdom of *Sicily*, to the said Crown, shall be yielded and secur'd to it, as is explain'd more at large hereafter, in the sixth Article of the Conventions between his Imperial Majesty and the King of *Sicily*.

VII. "The Emperor and the Catholick King mutually permit and engage one another to the reciprocal Defence or Guaranty of all the Kingdoms and Provinces which they actually possess, or ought to possess, by virtue of the present Treaty.

VIII. "Their Imperial and Catholick Majesties shall, immediately after the Exchange of the Ratifications of the present Conventions, all and each of the Conditions therein contain'd, and this within the space of two Months at farthest; and the Ratifications of the said Conventions shall be exchange'd at *London*, in the space of two Months, to reckon from the Day of signing, or sooner, if possible, and immediately after the previous Execution of the said Conditions, their Ministers Plenipotentiaries, who shall be by them authoriz'd, shall agree at the Place of Congress, of which they shall be agreed, and this as soon as possible, on the other Heads of their particular Treaty, by the Mediation of three contracting Powers.

"Moreover it is agreed, that in the Separate Treaty of Peace, to be made between the Emperor and the King of *Spain*, a general Amnesty

"neſty ſhall be granted for all Perſons of what-
 "foever Condition, Dignity, Rank and Sex
 "they are, as well of the Eſtate Eccleſiaſtick as
 "Military, or Civil, who have follow'd the Par-
 "ty of the one or the other Power, during the
 "Course of the laſt War, by Virtue of which
 "Amneſty all ſuch Perſons, and every one of
 "them ſhall be permitted to re-enter into the
 "full Poſſeſſion and Enjoyment of their Eſtates,
 "Rights, Privileges, Honours, Dignities and
 "Immunities, to enjoy the ſame as freely, as
 "they enjoy'd them at the Beginning of the laſt
 "War, or at the time when the ſaid Perſons
 "attach'd themſelves to the one or the other
 "Party, notwithstanding the Confiſcations, Ar-
 "reſts, and Sentences paſſ'd or pronounc'd, du-
 "ring the War, which ſhall be null, and as if
 "they had not happen'd; and moreover, by
 "Virtue of the ſaid Amneſty, all and every one
 "of the ſaid Perſons, who ſhall have follow'd
 "the one or the other Party, ſhall be at Liberty
 "to return to their own Country, and enjoy their
 "own Eſtates, as if the War had not happen'd,
 "with full Right of adminiſtring their Eſtates
 "in Perſon, whether they are preſent or by
 "Proxy, if they chuſe to be abroad, with Pow-
 "er to ſell or diſpoſe thereof in ſuch manner as
 "they ſhall think fit, as they had a Right to do
 "before the Beginning of the War.

Tho' the Princes, who form'd this Project,
 thought it very advantageous to *Spain*, it did
 not appear ſo to the Cardinal, nor by conſe-
 quence to their Catholick Majeſties, who treated
 it at firſt as monſtrous and impracticable, nor
 only with reſpect to ſuch Clauſes of the Articles,
 wherein

wherein the Minister thought he saw the Interests of *Spain* sacrific'd to I know not how many different Views, but also with respect to the manner in which they were propos'd to him ; for he heard, that a Treaty of Triple Alliance was on foot to compel either of the two Parties, who refus'd to subscribe this Project ; and that this Conduct was authoriz'd by a Precedent in 1659, when *France, England* and *Holland*, united by Treaty, at the *Hague*, of *May 21. July 24. and August 4.* to incline, or in case of Refusal to force the Kings of *Sweden* and *Denmark* to conclude a Peace, and to accept the Alterations made by those three Powers in the Treaty of *Rotchild*. This Precedent was back'd by that of the Treaty of Triple Alliance, concluded likewise at the *Hague*, between *England, Sweden* and *Holland*, in order to oblige the King of *Spain* to conclude a Peace with *France*, on Conditions that were concerted by those three Powers, which gave Occasion to the Treaty of *Aix la Chapelle*.

The Cardinal pretended, that this constraining Clause, notwithstanding the Precedents alledg'd, was very dishonourable to the Crown of *Spain* ; the rather, for that it could not be deem'd as common, or equally obligatory to the two Parties ; for he pretended to have good Information, that the said Project was not regulated and agreed upon, 'till every Article had pass'd the Approbation of the Court of *Vienna*. And his Eminency was convinc'd of this afterwards, since my Lord *Sranhope* owns expressly in his Memorial of *May 26.* to the Marquess of *Monteleon*, " That the Emperor did not enter into a Negotiation upon the Project, 'till that, after three Months

" Re-

"Refusal, he was allow'd the Article of the
"Restitution of *Sardinia*, which was a great Un-
"easiness to his *Britannick* Majesty and the Re-
"gent, because his *Catholick* Majesty had the
"Preservation of that Island so much at Heart.

The Cardinal did not fail to make the most
of this Consideration in the Conferences which
he had upon this Affair in their Majesties Ca-
binet; and he aggravated to the King the Dis-
honour, which it would reflect upon his whole
Reign, to accept of a Peace propos'd in this man-
ner; so that he own'd to his Majesty in effect, that
he might give Ear to the Proposals of Peace,
only he exclaim'd against the manner of Treat-
ing. The King approving his Reasons, after
several Conferences between the Cardinal, Co-
lonel *Stanhope*, the Duke of *St. Aignan*, and the
Marquess *de Nancré*, the Project was absolutely
rejected as injurious to his *Catholick* Majesty's
Honour.

In the mean time it must be confess'd; that
the real Motive of all the Resolutions of the
Court of *Spain*, upon this Occasion, was their
Confidence in the Success they promis'd them-
selves from the Expedition they had concert-
ed against *Sicily*; for there was no State in
all *Italy*, where an Invasion was less expected
from the *Spaniards*, especially after that his *Si-
cilian* Majesty being inform'd of the Intentions
of the Emperor, who was resolv'd not to desist
from his Pretensions to *Sicily*, and got it ad-
judg'd to him in the Project of Accommodation,
had recall'd his Minister from *Vienna*, and writ-
ten to the *Catholick* King to press him to con-
clude a Treaty of Alliance, after having assur'd
the *Spanish* Minister residing at *Turin*, "That he

Engag'd

L

"was

“was ready to lose the last Drop of his Blood,
 “rather than acquiesce in the *Project of Accom-*
 “*modation*; adding, That as he knew how to
 “acquire his Kingdom in the last War, so he
 “knew how to preserve it now, and that he was
 “resolv’d to stand to his Engagements, and never
 “to abandon his Catholick Majesty.” In short,
 he began to be as good as his Promise, and gave
 Orders to the Count de *Suza*, his Admiral, to
 prepare forthwith for the Transportation of
 great Succours from *Palermo* to *Villa Franca*, in
 order to enable him to act offensively on the Side
 of the *Milanese*, which drew the Troops out of
 all the Garrisons of *Sicily*, and gave the Cardinal
 more Ease to execute his Designs.

He hasten’d it the more, because he was in-
 form’d from all Parts, and especially by the Mar-
 quess de *Monteleone*, of the Measures that were
 taking at *London* and *Vienna*, to finish a Qua-
 druple Alliance between *France*, *England*, the
 Republick of the United Provinces, and the
 Emperor; the sole End of which would be to
 force *Spain* to consent to the Terms of the Pro-
 ject of Accommodation. The Abbot du Bois
 concerted the Plan of this famous Treaty, in
 conjunction with the Lords *Stanhope* and *Sunder-*
land, some of the Ministers of the Council of
Hanover, and the Baron de *Bentenreider* the Em-
 peror’s Minister at *London*; and it was not
 doubted, that if his *Britannick* Majesty approv’d
 it, the Regent would disavow the Work of his
 Minister, who undertook nothing without his
 Orders. In the mean time the Prince de *Cella-*
mare so well manag’d the Interests of the Catho-
 lick King, his Master, and so exactly follow’d
 the Cardinal’s Instructions, that he entirely
 chang’d

chang'd the Disposition which all the Members of the Council of the Regency seem'd to be in, to vote blindfold in a Case so important, and to refer themselves wholly to the Judgment and Prudence of the Regent. So that this Affair, which appear'd to have been conducted with so much Dexterity, that it could not fail to be approv'd as soon as propos'd, spun out above two Months, during which they flatter'd themselves daily, that the Regent would send an Order to the Abbot *du Bois* to sign the Treaty, which nevertheless the Ambassador of *Spain* diverted 'till the Beginning of *August*.

While the Prince of *Cellamare* gave all his Attention to the Interests of the Court of *Spain*, and enter'd into all the Views of the Cardinal Minister more than he ought to have done, considering the Character with which he was invested, as will be shewn hereafter; his Eminency did not let slip the least Opportunity of mortifying one of the Chiefs of that Ambassador's Family, whose Post he possess'd, and who had done great Services to King *Philip*. I related before, after what manner the Cardinal *del Giudice*, Uncle to the Prince of *Cellamare*, who had been honour'd with the Offices of Prime Minister, Grand Inquisitor, and Governor to the Prince of *Asturias*, was turn'd out of those great Employments, as soon as Cardinal *Alberoni* came into Favour. His Eminency retir'd to *Rome*, where being deeply affected by the Marks of Friendship which he receiv'd from the Pope, he meddled no more with publick Business, except sometimes when the Holy Father call'd him to the Cabinet to take his Advice, because of his great Experience in the Management of the most

important Affairs. There had always been a certain Jealousy betwixt this Cardinal and Cardinal *Acquaviva*, of which it were easy enough to explain the Reasons, if it would not lead us too far out of the Way: 'Tis sufficient to observe, that the latter, who was lately declar'd Ambassador from King *Philip* to his Holiness, had reason to fear, considering how the Cardinal *del Giudice* had been favour'd, that he might one day supplant him, if the Catholick King, remembering the Services which his Eminency's Nephew had done him, should return to more favourable Sentiments of him. On the other Hand, Cardinal *Alberoni* being inform'd, that when the Holy Father propos'd him to the Consistory, his Eminency *del Giudice*, instead of voting for him, made use of certain Expressions which an *Italian* could never forgive, desir'd nothing better than an Opportunity to humble a Person whom his Sovereign had not so far forgot, but he might still return to a Favour, which might not be of Advantage to the New Minister. To this were owing the Orders which were sent to Cardinal *Acquaviva*, to tell the Cardinal *del Giudice*, that his Catholick Majesty would have him take down the Arms of *Spain* from his Palace.

'Tis a general Custom among the Prelates, who reside at *Rome*, to signify to the World their Devotion to such or such a Crown, by putting its Arms over their Palace-Gates; so that when they change Sides, which is not at all extraordinary, the Publick is immediately inform'd of it by the Metamorphosis over the Gate of their Palace. The Family of the Cardinal *del Giudice*, as well as that of *Atti*, which is the Family of

Car-

Cardinal *Acquaviva*, are some of those, who, during the late Revolutions in the Kingdom of *Naples*, from whence they came originally, remain'd inviolably attach'd to King *Philip's* Party. For this Reason both their Eminencies set up the Arms of his Catholick Majesty in the Front of their Palaces. The Cardinal *del Giudice*, who could not reproach himself with ever having said or done any thing that could involve him in an Affront equal to that of being disown'd by his Sovereign, for whom he had sacrific'd his own Fortune and the Fortunes of his Family, thought he should be in the wrong to obey without first making some Remonstrances to his Catholick Majesty; and as he imagin'd he had very good Reasons to doubt, whether his Remonstrances would ever come to that good Prince's Hand, he chose to address them to the Duke of *Orleans*, desiring him to espouse his Interests in this nice Juncture, and to take care that his Letters should be deliver'd into his Catholick Majesty's own Hands. The Regent did this Friendly Office with Pleasure, in Favour of a Person for whom he had a real Esteem, which reflected even upon the Prince of *Cellamare* his Nephew. Yet for all this the Cardinal could obtain no Favour; for the Catholick King, suffering himself to be guided by his Minister, stop'd his Ears against all *Giudice's* Reasons; and if he answer'd him, it was only to complain of his Obstinacy and Disobedience; so that at length the Arms of *Spain* made room for those of the Holy Father, which the Cardinal *del Giudice* caus'd to be set up in the Front of his Palace, to shew his wise Choice of a Neutrality, in not espousing the Emperor's Party, tho' forc'd, as one may say, to be no lon-

ger a Spaniard. No body could penetrate what were Cardinal *Alberoni's* Reasons to use so severely a Prelate of this Rank, who was known to be one of the Pope's Creatures; for if it was only a Principle of Revenge, 'twas pushing it too far.

While Matters stood thus with the Cardinal *del Giudice*, and all things were dispos'd in *Spain* for the Execution of the Design which had been above Six Months upon the Anvil, Cardinal *Alberoni* gave Orders for the Troops to assemble from all Parts towards *Barcelona*, the Place of general Rendezvous. The Embarkment was finish'd by the 18th of *June*, and nine Men of War and twenty five Transports being arriv'd from *Cadiz*, this formidable Fleet sail'd the same Day under the Command of Don *Antonio Castagneta* and the Marquess *de Lede*, consisting of twenty two Ships of the Line, three Merchant Vessels turn'd into Ships of War, and carrying thirty five Cannon, four Galleys, a Galliot, and three hundred and forty Transports, on which were embark'd thirty six Battalions, four Regiments of Dragoons, and six of Horse, amounting in the whole to 30000 Men, all good Troops, and well disciplin'd, with Artillery and Ammunition in proportion.

The Cardinal deliver'd to the Commanders of this Fleet three seal'd Packets, containing their Orders, which they were to open one after another in certain Latitudes, and not before. This Fleet touch'd first at *Sardinia*, where the first Orders were to be open'd, and where they were to take in more Troops; from thence they sail'd towards the Coasts of *Genoa* to join the Duke of *Savoy* King of *Sicily*; but finding that
Prince

Prince had not kept his Promise, which was to have a Camp of 8 or 10000 Men ready upon the Coast, to favour the Landing, the Fleet turn'd off for *Sicily*, and came to Anchor the fifth of *July*, three Leagues from *Palermo*, where they landed without the least Resistance; for the Count *de Maffei*, Viceroy of the Island, retir'd immediately towards *Messina* with a Body of Troops, leaving only 400 Men in the Castle of *Palermo*, which they were oblig'd to abandon some Days after. Almost all *Sicily* following the Example of the Capital, King *Philip* was own'd by all the Inhabitants, except those of *Messina*, *Melazzo*, and *Syracusa*. The Surrender of *Palermo* was naturally follow'd with the Siege of *Messina*, which held out much longer, but surrender'd on a Capitulation the 29th of *September*.

While the Marquess *de Lede* was advancing from Conquest to Conquest in *Sicily*, all *Europe* stood amaz'd at an Undertaking so little expected, and which no body was capable of foreseeing, but the Abbot *del Moro*, Envoy of *Turin* at *Madrid*, who was the only Person that penetrated into the Cardinal's Design, and gave Advice of it likewise to the King of *Sicily* his Master, who at first would believe nothing on it, and treated it as a Chimera; for this Prince was so thoroughly perswaded, that the said Fleet was only design'd against the Kingdom of *Naples*, or to make a Descent upon the Coast of *Genoa*, that he caus'd 1500 Men to advance, to favour their Descent at *Vado*: He was not alone of this Opinion; for the Prince Governor of *Milan* plainly shew'd by his Dispositions, that he thought so too, and that he believ'd his *Sicilian* Majesty was in the Plot. All *Europe* thought

the latter, insomuch that there were those who did not scruple to publish the Articles of the Treaty between the two Kings.

But the King of *Sicily's* Astonishment at the Enterprize of the *Spaniards*, and the Proceedings that follow'd upon the Neck of it, were sufficient to convince the World, that there was no Collusion on the Part of his *Sicilian* Majesty, and that Cardinal *Alberoni* had deceiv'd the Man, whose Politicks were always unsearchable, and always so superiour to those of all other Potentates.

The *English* Fleet, which made all the Sail they could into the Mediterranean, soon rais'd all the Speculation of the Publick. Admiral *Bing* arriving in the Streights dispatch'd one of his Officers to Colonel *Stanhope* to communicate to his Catholick Majesty the Orders he had receiv'd from the King his Master, hoping by that Step to incline the Cardinal to more pacifick Thoughts.

The Admiral's Letter, which accompany'd the important Instructions he sent to the Colonel, was in Substance, as follows.

Extract from Sir George Bing's LETTER to Colonel Stanhope, to be by him communicated to the Court of Spain, dated the 20th of June, O. S. from on Board the Barfleur, off the Coast of Spain.

" I desire you will give me leave by you to acquaint his Catholick Majesty of my Arrival with the Fleet in the Mediterranean, and that I am instructed, in the King my Master's

Cardinal ALBERONI. 153

“ter’s Name; to promote all Measures that may
“contribute to the composing all Differences
“that have arisen between his Catholick Ma-
“jesty and the Emperor.

“But if his Catholick Majesty shall not please
“to accept of the Mediation of our Master, nor
“his Friendly Offices, but continues in the Re-
“solution that his Troops shall attack the Em-
“peror’s Territories in *Italy*, I must then ac-
“quaint you, Sir, that in that Case I am com-
“manded by the King our Master, to use all
“the Power of his Fleet, and Forces with me,
“to maintain (as much as is possible for me to
“do) the Neutrality of *Italy*, and defend the
“Emperor’s Territories therein, by opposing all
“Force that shall endeavour to attack him in
“his Dominions there.

This Letter, which was conformable to what the *London* Ministry had always told the Mar-
quess de Monteleone, when he ask’d what the Fleet
was design’d for, did not influence the Cardinal
to alter his Projects, as judging that *Spain* had
nothing to fear from the said *English* Fleet, be-
cause that of *Spain* was design’d against the Do-
minions of a Prince, who was in Confederacy
neither with the King of *Great Britain*, nor the
Emperor; therefore all the Answer he return’d
to the *English* Admiral’s Dispatches, was, that he
might obey the Orders of the King his Master, and
act as he thought fit. This Answer, which many
reckon’d a Bravado, had nothing in it, but what
was very simple and natural, considering the
then Sentiments of the Person from whom it
came; because as he explain’d himself after-
wards, he look’d upon the Armament of his

Britannick

Britannick Majesty, not so much to make good his Title of Guarantee of the Neutrality of *Italy*, as to fulfil the Treaty of 1716; for he could not imagine that *England* would undertake the Defence of the Neutrality, supposing it to be violated by *Spain*, after having patiently and silently suffer'd all the Infractions which in his Opinion had been made in that Treaty by the Governors, Generals and Counsellors of the Court of *Vienna*. But the Sequel plainly shew'd that the Cardinal thought one way, and the Council of *London* quite another way.

While this pass'd in the Mediterranean, the Ministers of *London* and *Madrid* made extraordinary Motions at the Courts of *Paris* and the *Hague*, the one side to get the Treaty of Quadruple Alliance sign'd, and the others to hinder it, or at least to delay it as much as possible. The Cardinal being well inform'd, that it was only owing to Chance, that the Preamble of the Project contain'd the Name of their High Mightinesses the States General of the United Provinces, as if they had concur'd towards raising a Structure, the Plan of which was only concerted by the Ministers of *London* and the Abbot *du Bois*, easily perswaded himself, that those wise Republicans would be still the more backward to sign a Treaty, which indeed they were pleas'd to call Quadruple, tho' the same only included *France*, *England* and the Emperor. Therefore all the Instructions which his Eminency sent to the Marq. *de Beretti Landi* were calculated only for keeping their High Mightinesses in that Aversion, which they at first express'd to every thing that carry'd the least Air of a Rupture with *Spain*. This Ambassador, whose Abi-
lities

lities were own'd and commended by the *Venetians* and *Swissers*, to whom he was sent before he came to the *Hague*, did in this nice Conjunction give fresh Proofs of his Dexterity in conducting the most difficult Affairs; and forc'd even his Enemies to own, that the King of *Spain* had not a Minister of more Zeal and more refin'd Politics. In short, his Task was not only to overthrow the Insinuations of four Ministers, who were not inferior to him in any thing, whether for Zeal or Address, viz. Messieurs *de Chateauneuf* and *de Morville* for *France*, and my Lord *Cadogan* and Mr. *Wirworth* for *England*, besides the Marquess *de Prie*, who soon after join'd himself with them, as we shall see by and by; but he was also oblig'd to oppose part of the Republick, in whose Council, as commonly happens in all Republican Governments, all the Members were not of one Mind, and consequently some were more forward than others to come into the Views of the Court of *France* and the Ministry of *London*.

The Council of the Regency shew'd as much Aversion as their High Mightinesses to sign the Treaty of the Quadruple Alliance, therefore the Council of *London* had recourse to the only Method left, which was, to send my Lord *Cadogan* to the *Hague*, and my Lord *Stanhope* to *Paris*. The latter having new Instructions, had Orders to join my Lord *Stairs*, and powerfully to solicit the Members of the Council of the Regency. 'Tis not convenient here to tell of all that pass'd, it being sufficient, as far as concerns the History of Cardinal *Alberoni*, to observe that at length my Lord *Stanhope* had the Honour to mollify that Resistance; so that the Treaty of Alliance

liance for causing the Project of Accommodation to be accepted, was sign'd and ratified too almost at the same time.

My Lord *Cadogan*, who staid at *London* till he was created an Earl, arriving at the *Hague*, the first Business he set about was to prepare for a magnificent Entry, and he spar'd no Cost to give the Publick a noble Idea of the good Intentions of the King his Master towards the Republick; but the Harangue which he made to the States General on the Day of his publick Entry, and the Proceedings which follow'd it, convinc'd the whole World, that the sole Motive of his Return, was to engage the Republick to adhere to the Treaty which the King his Master had lately concluded with the Duke Regent in concert with the Emperor. *As the King my Master*, says he, *makes his Glory and Greatness to consist chiefly in the Happiness of his People, and in procuring for them a solid Peace and a perfect Tranquility, so he has not ceas'd ever since his Accession to the Crown, to find out all the Means possible for preserving and confirming the Tranquility of Europe; and he does not doubt but your High Mightinesses having the same Views, will Concur to this great Work, and be dispos'd to Join him for attaining an End so wholesome, and so desirable, &c.*

Those who knew the Situation of Affairs at that Time, perfectly understood the Meaning of those Words *Concur* and *Join* with his Britannick Majesty; but it was thought very singular, that this *Concurrence* should be demanded with such an Air, in an Affair of such Importance, and wherein their H. M. are made to speak as if every thing was regulated with their Participation, and in concert with their Deputies.

ties. The Marquess *Beretti Landi* was not asleep at so important a Juncture, and there was no Argument which he did not urge in all Conferences both publick and private, to insinuate to their High Mightinesses how much it was their Interest to continue in the wise Resolution of a Neutrality, which they seem'd to have chosen; and how much their Honour was concern'd in refusing that Adherence, which in appearance some would fain extort from them. This Minister had the Satisfaction of succeeding at least in Part; good Politicks will not permit the neglecting of the least Opportunity of serving one's own Country. It was now some Years since their High Mightinesses concluded a Barrier Treaty with the Emperor as Sovereign of the *Catholick Netherlands*, under the Guaranty of his *Britannick Majesty*. This Treaty had not yet been executed, because of several Objections started by the States and other Inhabitants of *Flanders* and *Brabant*. Their High Mightinesses thought this a fair Opportunity to obtain of the Emperor what he was not very forward to grant them, *viz.* the Execution of the Treaty of *Antwerp*; therefore they skilfully made use of this Incident, both to manage their Interests as to the Barrier Treaty, and to silence the Complaints of the *English* Minister, who said publicly that their High Mightinesses could not refuse the Conjunction which the King his Master desir'd, without expressing a scandalous Contempt of the good Intentions of so good an Ally; besides, that the Negotiations, which it was plain would infallibly be necessary for adjusting the Affairs of the Barrier, would consume a great deal of Time, during which the

+

Peace

Peace might be made, or the Face of Affairs chang'd by some unforeseen Accident. Their High Mightinesses declar'd, that they could not resolve any thing, either as to the Project or as to the Treaty, which accompany'd it, till the Affair of the Barrier, of which his *Britannick* Majesty was Guarantee, was entirely regulated. This Declaration was as pleasing to the Minister of *Spain* and to the Cardinal, who was quickly inform'd of it, as it was perplexing to those who pursued the contrary Views.

My Lord *Cadogan's* only Remedy, was to make a Journey to *Antwerp*, whither the Marquess *de Prie* came from *Brussels*. The Effect of this Conference was the Departure of a Courier for *Vienna*, from whence the necessary Instructions were sent to the Marquess *de Prie*, to give the *States General* that due Satisfaction which could not be refus'd them on any other Occasion, and which it was not convenient to make them wait too long for, as Matters then stood.

My Lord *Stanhope* at his Departure from *London* receiv'd ample Instructions on every thing relating to the Affair with which he was charg'd: Therefore, as soon as the same was regulated at *Paris*, imagining that Cardinal *Alberoni* seeing the most potent States in *Europe* united to oppose his Projects, would abandon the Execution thereof, and assume Sentiments of Peace; he set out Post for *Madrid* with that call'd the *Quadruple Alliance*; but as he had himself dispatch'd Admiral *Bing's* Orders, and was not ignorant that after the Arrival of the Fleet in the *Mediterranean*, some sharp Action might happen there, which would render it unsafe for him to stay at *Madrid*; he took care to
pro-

provide himself with a good Passport, and consequently arriv'd at Court the 12th of *August*. The Cardinal caus'd a Castle to be furnish'd for him about a Mile from the *Escorial*, where he confer'd with him; but how great was his Surprise, when my Lord *Stanhope* confirm'd to him, what the Marquess *de Monteleone* had already given him Advice of, that the Treaty of the Quadruple Alliance was at length sign'd; and that the Emperor also having approv'd of the Project, had join'd the Kings of *France* and *England*, and the *States General*, to oblige *Spain* to accept it? His Eminency was the more surpriz'd, because he had receiv'd no Advice from the Marquess *Beretti Landi* of the Concurrence of the *States General* with *France* and *England* in the Negotiation of this Alliance, which the Cardinal treated with the Character of *unheard of Violence*.

The Cardinal being confounded at this formidable Conjunction of so many Forces, began to despair of the Success of his Projects, and listen'd attentively to the Proposals of the *English* Minister; so that the latter immediately conceiv'd great Hopes of the Success of his Negotiations, and he wrote about it to my Lord *Stairs*, in such Terms as were enough to make him believe that he was sure of succeeding. The King receiv'd him very favourably, and tho' he could not help complaining against the Conduct of his *Britannick* Majesty, to whom he thought he had given no Occasion to treat the *Spanish* Nation in such a Manner; yet he did it in Terms so modest, that my Lord *Stanhope* thought his Catholick Majesty was not so averse to a Peace as before; and that there was only the Cardinal to overcome.

His

His Eminency was present at all the Audiences which the Earl of *Stanhope* had of the King, and had several Conferences with him in private. At length Things seem'd to take a good Turn, when the Arrival of an Express chang'd the Face of Affairs all on a sudden. It was dispatch'd by Cardinal *de Acquaviva*, and brought the News of the taking of *Messina*, and the Submission of the greatest Part of *Sicily*. This was follow'd by another good Piece of News, viz. the happy Arrival of the Galeons, with a Cargo of above twelve Millions. These Successes dissipated all the Cardinal's Fears, which he had entertain'd from the Treaty of Quadruple Alliance; and imagining that it was possible to conquer not only *Sicily*, but the best Part of the Kingdom of *Naples*, where the People only waited for a Descent to declare themselves, before those formidable Allies could join their Forces, he became immediately less tractable; and tho' he did not absolutely refuse a Peace, yet he rejected all the Lord *Stanhope's* Proposals, and exclaim'd as he did before against this Way of Negotiation, as injurious to the King his Master; and that if he seem'd to give his Consent to it, every Body would be apt to say, that he had been forc'd to accept the Project of Accommodation. And when the Lord *Stanhope* demanded his final Resolution, he declar'd to him, "That the King his Master
 "had the Conquest of his Dominions in *Italy*
 "very much at Heart; but that there was
 "nothing which he would not sacrifice to the
 "Happinefs of Peace and the publick Tran-
 "quility, if they would enter into such an ho-
 "nourable Way of Negotiation, as might con-
 zill duct

“ duct them to so good an end.” And for this Purpose he deliver’d the Lord *Stanhope* these eight Articles, as Preliminaries of a Treaty.

- I. “ That *Sicily* and *Sardinia* should for ever remain to the Crown of *Spain*.
- II. “ That the Emperor give the Duke of *Savoy* an Equivalent in the *Milanes*.
- III. “ That he satisfy all the Pretensions of the Princes of *Italy*.
- IV. “ That his Troops marching to *Italy* be forthwith countermanded.
- V. “ That for time to come, the Emperor have only a certain Number of Troops in his Dominions in *Italy*.
- VI. “ That he oblige himself not to meddle with the Succession of *Tuscany* and *Parma*.
- VII. “ That he renounce his Pretensions upon the Fiefs of the Empire.
- VIII. “ That the *English* Squadron be forthwith recall’d from the *Mediterranean*.

The Contents of these Articles, the Slowness of the Cardinal, the Ambiguity of his Answers, did at length convince the *English* Minister, that his Eminency having the chief Sway over the King and Queen, would keep them in an Aversion to a Negotiation, which might terminate in a good Peace. Therefore doubting what would pass upon the Coasts of *Italy* if the two Fleets should meet, he resolv’d without any more Regard to depart, and deliver’d the Cardinal Minister a Paper, importing, “ That the “ Confederate Powers had, in pursuance of a
M “ Treas-

“ Treaty sign’d, and communicated to Cardinal
 “ *Alberoni*, agreed on the following Measures :

I. “ That the Catholick King shall have
 “ three Months to accept of the Treaty, reckoning from the Day it was sign’d.

II. “ That if his Catholick Majesty does not
 “ accept of the same within the said Term of
 “ three Months, then the Confederates shall
 “ supply the Emperor with such Forces as are
 “ stipulated in the Treaty of Alliance.

III. “ That if, in consequence of the Assistance given to the Emperor, the King of *Spain* should declare to, or make War against any one of the Confederates, either by invading his Dominions, or seizing his Subjects, Ships or Effects; then the other Confederates shall immediately declare to, and make War against his Catholick Majesty, and shall carry on the same till such Time as Satisfaction shall be given to the wrong’d Ally.

IV. “ That in Case his Catholick Majesty should refuse to accept of the said Treaty, the Confederates shall unanimously dispose of his Expectations on the Dominions of *Tuscany* and *Parma* in Favour of some other Prince.

V. “ That the Emperor shall not act within the said Term of three Months, upon Condition that the King of *Spain* does not act on his Side; but that if his Catholick Majesty, instead of accepting the said Treaty, should within the said Term act any Hostilities which might prevent the Execution of any Indisposition of the said Treaty, then the Allies shall immediately, and without waiting
 “ the

Cardinal ALBERONI. 163

“ the Expiration of the said Term, supply the
“ Emperor with such Forces as are therein stipulated.

The Reading of this Paper confirm'd the Cardinal in his Sentiments, that it would not be for the Glory of the King his Master to hearken to Proposals of Peace, made in such a way as favour'd of despotick Command and Constraint; and the King himself was of the same Mind with his Minister, resolving to sacrifice every thing rather than take the least Step wherein his own Honour and that of a Nation, so tender of this Article, might lie expos'd.

Earl *Stanhope* was scarcely gone, but the Cardinal was very jealous that the *English* Ministry would not fail to make their use of this Rupture of the Negotiations, and to tell the Publick, that it now depended only on the Court of *Spain* to bring things to a good Peace; therefore he thought fit to inform the Publick himself, of the Motives which induc'd his Catholick Majesty to reject the Proposals of the *English* Minister; and for this End he wrote the following Letter to the Marquess *Beretti Landi*, with Orders to communicate it to their High Mightinesses.

“ I Acquaint your Excellency, that my Lord
“ *Stanhope* set out the 26th of this Month
“ from the *Escorial* for *Madrid*, whence he was
“ to proceed on his Journey to *Paris*, having
“ seen Proof sufficient during his Stay here, of
“ the Constancy and Firmness with which the
“ King rejected the Project of the Princes Mediators, and the Suspension of Arms last propos'd.

" pos'd. He learnt from their Majesties own
 " Mouths, in two long Conferences, to which
 " he had the Honour to be admitted, that they
 " detested that Project, as unjust, prejudicial,
 " and offensive to their Honour. I told him,
 " that I did not comprehend what Motive could
 " induce the confederated Powers to admit the
 " Duke of *Savoy* into their Alliance, not only
 " considering of what little Use he will be to
 " them, but because 'tis certain those Powers
 " have no need of the Troops of *Savoy*, unless
 " that Prince will maintain them at his own
 " Expence, which will be very difficult to ob-
 " tain.

" As for *Sicily*, I declared to my Lord *Stanhope*,
 " in the Presence of the Marquess *de Nancre*,
 " that *France* and *Great Britain* had of them-
 " selves, and none else whatever, induc'd the
 " King to retake that Kingdom; for both those
 " Courts had assur'd his Majesty, that the Duke
 " of *Savoy* was treating with the Archduke, to
 " give up to him that Island, if that Prince
 " would accept it; but that he had refus'd it,
 " considering it would be better for him to re-
 " ceive it by the Disposition of the Powers Me-
 " diators, and with the Consent of *Spain*; be-
 " cause in that Case, he would have the Advan-
 " tage to obtain it by a more just and more au-
 " thentick Title, besides the Assurance of keep-
 " ing it by Favour of so powerful a Guaranty.
 " I likewise shew'd my Lord *Stanhope*, that the
 " Archduke being Master of *Sicily*, all *Italy* will
 " be the Slave of the *Germans*, and the Powers
 " of *Europe* not be able to set her at Liberty:
 " And that the *Germans* in the last War, with a
 " small Body of Troops, made head and dis-
 " puted

“puted the Ground against two Crowns, which
 “had formidable Armies in *Lombardy*, were
 “Masters of the Country, and of a great Num-
 “ber of considerable Places. I also represented
 “to him very clearly, that to make War in *Lom-*
 “*bardy*, was to make it in a Labyrinth, and that
 “it was the fatal Burial Place of the *French* and
 “*English*: That every Year of the last War cost
 “*France* 18 or 20000 Recruits, and above 15
 “Millions; that the Duke of *Vendosm*, at the
 “Time Things went prosperously, said, that if
 “the War in *Italy* lasted, the two Crowns must
 “indispensibly abandon that Province, because
 “of the immense Charge: That according to
 “the Engagements now propos’d, the Succours
 “of *Great Britain* are far off, and impracticable;
 “and that the least would cost a *Potosi* enough
 “to ruin a Kingdom: That at present those of
 “*France* are impossible, and would be generally
 “oppos’d by the Nation: That the Archduke
 “would triumph with all these Advantages, and
 “*England* not recover the least Reimbursement,
 “when, on the contrary, she might gain consi-
 “derably by siding with *Spain*. In conclusion,
 “I told my Lord *Stanhope* plainly, that the Pro-
 “position of giving *Sicily* to the Archduke was
 “absolutely fatal; and that of setting Bounds
 “afterwards to his vast Designs, a mere Dream
 “and Illusion; since that Prince being possess’d
 “of *Sicily*, would have no further need, either
 “of *France* or *England*, for bringing immediate-
 “ly the rest of *Italy* under Subjection, and no
 “Power would be in a Condition to oppose it.
 “This is the Substance of all the Conferences
 “my Lord *Stanhope* had, and your Excellency
 “may make use of it as Occasion shall offer.

In the mean time the Cardinal being inform'd, both by the Earl of *Stanhope's* Paper, and by his Discourse, what *Spain* must expect from the Powers enter'd into the Alliance, lost no time in giving new Orders to hasten the Succours which were design'd for *Sardinia*, from whence the Army in *Sicily* was to be reinforc'd from time to time. He also apply'd himself, with the utmost Diligence, in the Dispatch of Instructions and Orders to his Catholick Majesty's Ministers at *London*, *Paris*, and the *Hague*, to set all Engines at work, in order to break the Measures of the Allies; and being inform'd, by a Letter from the Marquess *de Beretti Landi*, of the good Disposition which their High Mightinesses seem'd to be in, for observing an exact Neutrality, he turn'd all his Thoughts that way, in order to manage the Republick, to whose Mediation the Interests of his Catholick Majesty might always be refer'd, in case any Misfortune should happen, which oblig'd him to submit to the Terms impos'd upon him.

The Cardinal being always watchful of Events, in which the Authority of the King, his Master, was concern'd, took very much at Heart the Affair of the Refusal of his Bulls for the Archbishoprick of *Seville*, not so much on his own Account, as because it struck at the Honour of his Catholick Majesty, whose Interest the Court of *Rome* seem'd to have little Regard to; so that after many submissive and respectful Representations, he believ'd that the Interest of the Crown would receive such a visible Blow upon this Occasion, as might be of bad Consequence hereafter. Therefore, after several Hints drop'd to the Nuncio *Aldrovandi*, of what would

would be the Consequence, if the Holy Father should still pay so much Deference to the Instances of the House of *Austria*, as to delay granting to his Catholick Majesty what he had no reason to refuse him, he sent Cardinal *Acquaviva* his last Instructions upon this Affair. This Minister no sooner receiv'd them, but, before he put them in execution, he communicated them to the Cardinal *Nephew*, that his Holiness might have no cause to reproach him, with having carry'd Things to an Extremity, without having acquainted him therewith. The Holy Father knew immediately what pass'd; and the Cardinal *Nephew*, after several Journeys betwixt the Vatican and Cardinal *Acquaviva's* Palace, did, at last, obtain the latter's Consent to suspend the Execution of his Orders, till the next Consistory. The *Spanish* Minister agreed to it the more readily, because he was perswaded that his Holiness would embrace this Occasion, to avoid such a Rupture between the two Courts, as that was which cost so much Pains to be heal'd not two Years ago. Nevertheless, he was deceiv'd in his Expectation, and the Threats of the Imperial Court still prevail'd over the good Dispositions of his Holiness, so that a Consistory was held, without the least mention of the Archbishoprick of *Seville*. Then it was that Cardinal *Acquaviva* renew'd the Protestation which he made at the beginning of this Refusal, declaring in Substance, "That his Catholick Majesty having
"nominated Cardinal *Alberoni* to the Archbishop-
"rick of *Seville*, and the ordinary Informations
"being taken before the Nuncio, and produc'd
"with the Brief of his Majesty's Nomination,
"the King of *Spain* was surpriz'd that all these

“ Formalities observ’d according to the Rules,
 “ the Pope should refuse to propose the said
 “ Church, as he had, on his Part, requested him.
 “ That the Right of naming to Bishopricks had
 “ been acquir’d by the Kings of *Spain*, for several
 “ Ages, by the great Services which the said
 “ Crown has done to the Church, in converting
 “ an infinite Number of People to the Catholick
 “ Faith; that his Catholick Majesty was resolv’d
 “ to maintain his antient Rights, which
 “ had never been disputed; that his Holiness
 “ could not reject the Presentation of a Subject,
 “ whom he knew to be Regular in his Life and
 “ Conversation, and Orthodox in Doctrine;
 “ especially, since the Holy Father found no
 “ Incapacity or Disqualification in him last
 “ Year, when he advanc’d him to the Degree
 “ of a Cardinal; nor since that, when he granted
 “ him the Bulls for the Bishoprick of *Malaga*, &c.

These Reasons, how strong soever they were
 in themselves, had no other Effect, tho’ repeated,
 than they had in the Month of *February* last.
 Therefore Cardinal *Acquaviva* issued a Decree,
 by which, in the Name of the Catholick King,
 he order’d all *Spaniards*, of whatever Rank,
 Quality or Condition they were, to quit *Rome*,
 and retire to the Marquisate of *Ancona*, giving
 them Passports for that End, and causing Money
 to be distributed to those who wanted it; and,
 to set an Example, he himself left *Rome* and
 retir’d to *Albano*. Above 4000 *Spaniards* did
 the like, and left none of their Nation behind,
 but such as had nothing to lose, or nothing to
 expect in the Dominions of *Spain*. Who would
 not have thought that such a Proceeding
 would

Cardinal ALBERONI. 169

would for ever have imbroil'd two Courts, so jealous of their Prerogatives? especially, when the Nuncio *Aldrovandi* had Orders at the same time to quit *Spain*. But the Sequel will shew, that there remain'd the same good Correspondence betwixt them as before, which occasion'd great Speculations on the Motives of the Conduct of both Courts.

These different Events, of which the Cardinal was the *Primum Mobile*, fix'd the Eyes of all *Europe* upon the Conduct of this Minister, the Darling of Fame, when the *English* Admiral gave a new Turn to the Reasonings of Politicians, by the most remarkable Action that had happen'd for a long time.

After the Answer which the Catholick King return'd to that Admiral's Dispatches, the latter having reinforce'd the Garrison of *Gibraltar*, took in Water at *Malaga*, without offering the least Disturbance to the Place, landed some Troops at *Port Mahon*, and then made all the sail he could for the Relief of the Kingdom of *Naples*. Never was an *Englishman* so genteely receiv'd in *Italy*, as this Admiral was at *Naples* by the Viceroy, the Count *de Thaurin*, who paid him almost the same Honours as he would have done to a Sovereign Prince. Yet all the time was not spent in Ceremonies, in Compliments, and in sending rich and magnificent Presents to the Admiral's Ship. The Viceroy had scarce represented to the *English* Admiral, how important it was to succour the *Piedmontese*, who were in *Sicily*, but the latter offer'd his Service to convey the most powerful Supplies that he should send,

The

The Duke of *Savoy* had scarce heard what pass'd in this Kingdom, but judging that he alone was not able to hinder its reverting under the Dominion of its old Masters, ingratiated himself with the Emperor, by giving it up to him purely and simply, relying entirely upon his Imperial Majesty's good Intentions, to take care of his Interests afterwards, when a Treaty should be set on Foot with *Spain*. This Act of Retrocession was immediately dispatch'd to the Viceroy of *Naples*, to send it into *Sicily*, that the *Savoyard* Generals there might conform accordingly: And it was by virtue of this Cession, that the Viceroy of *Naples* had so much at Heart the Relief of an Island, which he had already look'd upon as the Patrimony of the Emperor his Master,

The *English* Admiral, after having seconded the Intentions of the Viceroy, rode in the Canal of *Messina*, when one of his Scout Ships brought him Word, that the *Spanish* Fleet was not far off.

As soon as the Admiral arriv'd upon the Coasts of *Sicily*, he wrote a Letter to the Marquess de *Lede*, and propos'd a Cessation of Arms to him, which the Marquess could not grant him, having no Instructions in such an Affair. After an Answer to that Effect, the *English* Admiral detach'd part of his Fleet in pursuit of the *Spaniards*; who, by Favour of the Wind, kept just out of the Reach of the *English*; but at length, notwithstanding all they could do, a Fight began. The *Spaniards* lying too near, were, at length, oblig'd to put themselves upon the Defensive, for they could not but be jealous of those Ships that were detach'd from the main Body.

Cardinal ALBERONI. 171

Body of the *English*, who spread all the Sail they could to gain the Wind of 'em. At length, on the 11th of *August* 1718, part of the *English* Fleet was engag'd with part of the *Spanish* Fleet, which being very much inferior in Number, in Force, and in the true Method of working, was beat off of *Syracusa*, and lost above twelve Ships of War, the rest of the scatter'd Fleet retiring, part to *Malta*, and part to some Harbours of *Sicily*.

The News of this Action flew quickly to all the Courts of *Europe*; and occasion'd various Reasonings upon the Conduct of the *English* Admiral, who was the Aggressor; but no Body presum'd to be positive, and every one left it to the Judgment of the whole Parliament, then about to assemble. The Ministers of *Spain*, and especially the Marquesses de *Monteleone*, and de *Beretti Landi*, left no Stone unturn'd to incense the Members against the Court; and, in order to justify his Catholick Majesty's Conduct to all *Europe*, publish'd the following Letter from the Marquess de *Monteleone* to Secretary *Craggs*.



COPY of a LETTER from the Mar-
 quess of Monteleone, Embassador from
 the King of Spain, to the Right Honour-
 able Mr. Secretary Craggs.

SIR,

THE News that is spread in the World
 of Admiral *Bing's* having attack'd the
Spanish Fleet, and obtain'd considerable Ad-
 vantages over them, obliges me naturally not
 to act in any Affair till I receive Orders and
 Instructions from the King my Master, con-
 cerning an Action so surprizing and unexpect-
 ed, and that even seems to agree but very
 little with the Declarations made to the
 Court of *Madrid* by the said Admiral, since
 they gave to understand, that the *English* Fleet
 would proceed no further than as a Guarantee
 to defend the Dominions of the Archduke, in
 case they were invaded. Nevertheless, as I
 cannot doubt in the least but that your Excel-
 lency makes serious Reflections on the just Re-
 sentments which the King, my Master, and all
 the *Spaniards*, must needs have, to see them-
 selves thus assaulted and abus'd, with so much
 Animosity, by a Nation to whom they have
 shewn the most Favour, and see them act
 contrary to all Reason, Politicks, and even
 against their own Interest, to increase the ex-
 orbitant Power of the *Germans* in *Italy*.

I cannot dispense with my not acquainting
 your Excellency with the good and generous
 Intentions of the King, my Master, that were
 com-

Cardinal ALBERONI. 173

communicated to me by his Letters of the 29th of *August*, N.S. As also the Orders he gave concerning the Arrival of the Fleet of *Mexico* at *Cadiz*, which, in Silver, and other Effects, is valued at nine Millions of Crowns.

His Majesty informs me, that notwithstanding Admiral *Bing*'s Declaration, and the Intimation that has been given him of the Articles lately Signed, whereof I here send a Copy to your Excellency; and that altho' the said Declaration and Articles rather denote an obvious Design of making War, than that of maintaining a perfect Understanding between the two Nations, and undertaking an impartial Mediation; yet it is resolv'd not to make the least Change in any thing that relates to Trade; that the Effects arrived in the said Flota shall be delivered; as before, to those whom they belong to; and, in a Word, that it is his Majesty's Will and Intention, that the Treaty of Peace and Commerce should be religiously observ'd; and that the *English* should continue to enjoy all the Advantages and Grants that were given them heretofore.

This last, and so singular Instance of his Majesty's Justice and Moderation, ought not, certainly, to have been prevented by the sad Event, which he must have received the News of, a few Days after he had given so evident a Mark of his favourable Dispositions towards the *English* Nation.

It may be that some disaffected Persons have endeavour'd to intimate that the *Spanish* Navy aim'd less at the Liberty of *Italy*, than of making Alterations in the Commerce, as it is now establish'd, and engrossing to themselves the considerable

‘ fiderable Branches which other Nations have
 ‘ in the *Indies*. But this pretended Design is as
 ‘ false as impracticable.

‘ God has committed the *Indies* to the Trust
 ‘ of the *Spaniards*, that all Nations might par-
 ‘ take of the Riches of that new World; it is
 ‘ even necessary that all *Europe* should contri-
 ‘ bute towards supplying the different Domini-
 ‘ ons of that vast Empire with their Manufac-
 ‘ tures and Merchandizes : This was, and is still
 ‘ the Intention of the King my Master, and all
 ‘ his Preparations by Sea can never have any
 ‘ other View than that of defending the Coast
 ‘ of *Spain*, and protecting Trade in *Europe* and
 ‘ the *Indies*.

‘ As to what regards me in particular, I shall
 ‘ be extreamly concern’d, should the Action, which
 ‘ past lately to the unspeakable Surprize of the
 ‘ greatest Part of *Europe*, give any Alteration to
 ‘ the good Disposition of the King my Master,
 ‘ towards all the *English* Nation; and the hearty
 ‘ Desire he has had hitherto to contribute to
 ‘ their Advantage.

I am, &c.

Three Weeks after the Secretary return’d a
 long Answer to this Letter; wherein he said, by
 Order of the King his Master, ‘ That what
 ‘ Admiral *Bing* had done ought by no means to
 ‘ appear *surprising*, since my Lord *Stanhope* had
 ‘ declar’d to the Catholick King, and to his Mi-
 ‘ nister the Cardinal *Alberoni*, that if, during the
 ‘ Term of three Months, allow’d for his Ma-
 ‘ jesty’s entring into the Alliance, he undertook
 ‘ any Hostilities, tending to hinder the Execu-
 ‘ tion of the Dispositions made by the said Trea-
 ‘ ties,

Cardinal ALBERONI. 175

ties, the said Powers were oblig'd to oppose him by Force even within the said 3 Months; and that the Invasion of *Sicily* was directly contrary to the said Dispositions. Afterwards this Minister enlarg'd on the several Complaints, which it was alledg'd the *English* Nation had reason to make against the Conduct of the Court of *Spain* and he concluded from thence, that Sir *George Bing* did no more than what he ought to have done.

This Letter was not long without a Reply on the Part of the Marquess *de Monteleone*, who to his own Reflections added the Copy of the following Letter, which Cardinal *Alberoni* wrote to him before he receiv'd that from Mr. *Craggs*.

SIR,

JUST as I was reckoning your Excellency might be inform'd of the unworthy Action committed by Admiral *Bing* against the King's Squadron, I receiv'd the Copy of the Letter your Excellency wrote upon that Subject to Mr. Secretary *Craggs*, to let him know, that after such an unexpected Hostility, you were obliged to refrain from the Functions of your Pacifick Ministry; and that to maintain the King's Honour, and that of your Character, you must avoid all manner of Intercourse. Having deliver'd the said Copy to his Majesty, he very much approv'd what your Excellency had written to him, and the Justness of the Expressions you made use of, to expose the Breach of Faith of that Ministry, in relation to the over-hasty Proceedings of Admiral *Bing*; when no-
thing

‘ thing was pretended to, but a Mediation to
 ‘ facilitate the Project of Peace, or, at most, to
 ‘ defend the Territories actually in the Possession
 ‘ of the Archduke in *Italy*; when my Lord Stan-
 ‘ hope was in *Spain*, at a small Distance from the
 ‘ Court, to propose to it Projects of Peace and a
 ‘ Suspension of Arms; and lastly, in the very
 ‘ Instant when the King our Master, to give new
 ‘ Proofs of his Royal Circumspection, had or-
 ‘ der’d the Effects of the *English*, brought to *Ca-*
 ‘ *dix* in the last Flota which arriv’d there from
 ‘ the *Indies*, not to be touch’d, but that every
 ‘ Man of that Nation should have what respec-
 ‘ tively belong’d to him.

‘ In Truth, no impartial Person can hear, with-
 ‘ out Surprise, that the Fleet of his *Britannick*
 ‘ Majesty, commanded by Sir *George Bing*, did,
 ‘ without any Provocation, Necessity, or Pre-
 ‘ tence, and forgetting the Title of Peaceful
 ‘ Mediator, which his Master assumes to him-
 ‘ self, together with the Interests of *Great Britain*,
 ‘ attack the Fleet of *Spain*, only to frustrate the
 ‘ Expedition against *Sicily*; after having been at
 ‘ *Naples*, to concert with Count *Thaurin* so base an
 ‘ Action; received great Sums of Money, by
 ‘ way of supposed Arrears; and finally, after
 ‘ having come near to *Messina*, and sent trusty
 ‘ Officers to confer with the Commanders of the
 ‘ King’s Army, and to assure them that he would
 ‘ commit no Act of Hostility.

‘ The greatest Part of *Europe* is impatient to
 ‘ hear how the *British* Ministry can justify them-
 ‘ selves to the World, after so rash a Violence.
 ‘ If they recur to the feeble Argument to say,
 ‘ that Admiral *Bing*’s Instructions were to main-
 ‘ tain the Neutrality of *Italy*, Who is ignorant,

‘ at

at this time of Day, that that Neutrality hath long been at an End? And that the Princes, who guaranty the Treaties of *Utrecht*, are entirely free, and discharg'd from their Guaranty? Every body knows, that the Guaranty of the Suspension of Arms in *Italy* was revoked and annull'd, not only by the scandalous Breaches which the *Austrians* made in the ill-perform'd Evacuation of *Catalonia* and *Majorca*, and by other subsequent Outrages; but also by reason that the said Guaranty, taken in its literal Sense, was no longer binding, than 'till the Peace to be made with *France*; and the Princes Guarantees ought no otherwise to maintain it, than by their mutual Offices.

Upon these Grounds and Principles every one may make his own Reflections. And what will the World say, to see that after the said Neutrality had, for the Reasons above alledg'd, lain dormant for four Years, the Ministry of *London* would fain revive and support it, not by the Employment of a Friendly Mediation, but by open Force, and the scandalous Artifice of abusing our Security and Confidence? This is so certain and indubitable, and Admiral *Bing* found himself so perplex'd with the Remorse of his injurious Conduct, that in the Account he gives of this Naval Fight, knowing that he had no Motive, nor reasonable Pretence to fall foul on the *Spaniards*, he betakes himself to the Shift of supposing (quite contrary to Truth) that the King's Ships first ranged themselves in Line of Battle, and fired upon the *English*. But that which is most surprizing is, that he lays it down for Fact, that he sent Orders to his Ships not to fire upon the *Spaniards*.

' If he had no Design to attack them, if he had
 ' a Mind to treat them as Friends, why did he
 ' pursue them from the Streights of the *Faro* to the
 ' Heights of *Syracusa* ? Why sent he four of the
 ' best Sailers in his Fleet in all Haste, with Or-
 ' ders to come up with the *Spaniards* ? And why,
 ' lastly, did he follow them with the rest, after
 ' having given them his own Lights, unless it
 ' was not to lose Sight of the *Spanish* Fleet du-
 ' ring the Night ? This Step, which is so extra-
 ' ordinary, was not taken certainly with the
 ' View only of saluting the *Spanish* Fleet in so
 ' nice and critical a Juncture, after having con-
 ' voy'd near to *Rixoles* in *Calabria* a considerable
 ' Part of the *Austrian* Infantry !

' The King our Master, who looks upon the
 ' King of *Great Britain* as a wise, a prudent,
 ' and moderate Prince, who is not ignorant that
 ' the Success of Arms is unconstant, who knows
 ' in short to how many Accidents and Revolu-
 ' tions Humane Felicity is expos'd, and that
 ' God takes the just Cause into his Protection,
 ' cannot persuade himself that so enormous an
 ' Act was executed by Order of his *Britannick*
 ' Majesty ; and the rather, because he thinks it
 ' incompatible with the Gratitude of Sovereigns
 ' (and especially of his *Britannick* Majesty) to for-
 ' get so easily the sincere Friendship whereof he
 ' hath received so many Proofs from the King
 ' our Master, who did not fail to shew it him,
 ' during the most perilous Time of his Reign,
 ' and the late Troubles in *England*.

' Neither can his Majesty persuade himself,
 ' that a Violence so unjust, and so generally dis-
 ' approved, was fomented by the *British* Nation,
 ' because she is always a faithful Friend to her
 ' Allies,

‘ Allies, and grateful, to *Spain*, for the Benefits
 ‘ she hath received from the Liberalities and
 ‘ good Intentions of his Catholick Majesty. On
 ‘ the other side, well-grounded Experience con-
 ‘ vinces his said Majesty, that this Event is the
 ‘ Effect of some restless and turbulent Spirits,
 ‘ Enemies to Peace, to his *Britannick* Majesty’s
 ‘ Honour, to the Nation’s Quiet and Advan-
 ‘ tage, and to the Publick Good in general;
 ‘ desirous of raising their private Fortunes and
 ‘ Convenience upon the Common Ruin, and at
 ‘ the Expence of fatal Success and its unhappy
 ‘ Consequences.

‘ All these Motives, together with that which
 ‘ his Majesty hath (tho’ to his Sorrow) to see
 ‘ the ill Use which is made of his Favours; the
 ‘ Reflection upon the insulting his Honour by an
 ‘ Hostility and Offence so little expected; and
 ‘ the Consideration that after what hath newly
 ‘ happen’d, the Representation of your Excel-
 ‘ lency’s Character and Ministry would be super-
 ‘ fluous at that Court, and that you would be
 ‘ ill respected there, have obliged the King to
 ‘ order me to bid you in his Name to depart
 ‘ from *England*, as soon as your Excellency
 ‘ shall receive this Letter, his Majesty having so
 ‘ resolved.

I am, &c.

N^o 2 How

How strong soever were the Arguments and Expressions of this Letter, the Marquess de Monteleone, perceiving the Motions of the Court-Party to get a Majority in Parliament, thought his Presence necessary a while longer in England, and before he went away, he publish'd the following Letter from Cardinal Alberoni, in Answer to the Accusations of Mr. Craggs.

Translation of Cardinal Alberoni's ANSWER to the Marquess de Monteleone, dated the 10th of October, 1718, concerning the LETTER Mr. Secretary Craggs wrote to the said Marquess, dated at Hampton-Court, Sept. 4. 1718.

SIR,

TH^O the Breach of Faith of the British Ministry hath sufficiently shewn itself, in the unjust and unforeseen Hostility committed by Sir George Bing against his Majesty's Squadron; yet, forasmuch as Mr. Craggs, Secretary of State, endeavours, in the Letter which he wrote to your Excellency the fourth of September, to perswade the World of the contrary, 'tis unavoidably necessary to repeat to you, that this Action was already premeditated, and that Admiral Bing conceal'd his Intention, the better to abuse the Confidence of our Generals in Sicily, by giving them his Word, that he would not commit any Hostility.

Men were universally surprized at the Arrival of the First Minister of Great Britain at the Court of the Catholick King, there to make
Pro-

‘ Proposals of Peace and of Suspension of Arms,
‘ at the same time that the Naval Force of the
‘ Potentate, who should have been Mediator,
‘ was performing the Actions of an open Rup-
‘ ture.

‘ It doth not suffice to say, that a Rupture
‘ might and must be predicted, by the Demand
‘ which the Lord *Stanhope* made of a Pass for
‘ the Security of his Person in his Majesty’s Do-
‘ minions ; and ’tis needless to repeat what pass’d
‘ betwixt the Marquess *de Lede* and Sir *George*
‘ *Bing*, while he was in *Sicily*, concerning a Sus-
‘ pension of Arms, because no body is ignorant
‘ that the Marquess *de Lede* was not authorized
‘ for it, and that his Instructions required nothing
‘ else of him than to recover that Kingdom,
‘ without empowering him to enter into a Ne-
‘ gotiation of Peace : For ’tis very customary to
‘ demand Passes, to secure one’s self against Ac-
‘ cidents ; and especially, because by that means
‘ Nations shew their mutual Respect for each
‘ other. But ’tis no where to be found in His-
‘ tory, nor is it compatible with Good-Faith,
‘ neither have the most Barbarous People yet
‘ learnt the Maxim of sending a Minister from
‘ one Court to another, with the Character of
‘ Mediator, there to treat of Peace, and of ex-
‘ ecuting at the same time the utmost Rigours of
‘ War.

‘ Mr. *Craggs* complains, in his Letter, of the
‘ Imposts laid on the Merchandizes of *Great Bri-*
‘ *tain* ; but besides that no Man can make this
‘ out, the antient Customs observ’d in *Spain* hav-
‘ ing been practis’d from the Signing of the Peace
‘ of *Utrecht*, upon the first Demand of Mr. *Bubb*,
‘ Minister of that Crown, for the making and
‘ settling

settling a new Tariff, the same was readily agreed to : And as it proved a Work of Time, Endeavours were used to accomplish and conclude it at *Cadiz*, with the Assistance of the publick Merchants of all Nations, who sign'd it. The King himself approved it, and it had infallibly been printed and publish'd, had not the *English* Squadron appear'd in the Mediterranean, to oppose his Majesty's just Undertaking.

There never was a Thought entertain'd of prohibiting several kinds of Goods expressly allow'd by the said Treaty ; neither did the King deny the *South-Sea* Company the Schedules for their Annual Vessels, his Majesty having only desired the said Company to let them alone for this Year, because he had resolv'd not to send his own Galeons, at the Request of those who trade to the *Indies*, and of the Consulate of *Cadiz*, who affirm'd, that *America* was so over-stock'd with all sorts of Goods, that it was impossible to dispose of them.

His Majesty hath done nothing herein, that is against the express Words of the Treaty :

On the contrary, he hath by such Conduct shewn his Inclination to favour the Commerce of the *British* Nation ; for he offer'd at the same time, that the *English* might send thither two Ships instead of one next Year ; and the King was disposed (notwithstanding the above-mention'd Request) to consent to the Departure of the said Annual Ship, not regarding the Prejudice his Finances would have suffer'd therefrom.

The Detention of the Merchant-Ships, to transport Troops, Horses, and Ammunition, was

‘ was perform’d without any Constraint, and
 ‘ with the peaceable Consent of the Parties concern’d; whose Freight was punctually paid.
 ‘ ’Tis not *Spain* that introduc’d this Custom, the
 ‘ Merchant-Ships in all Sea-Ports, of what Nation soever, publickly serving those who pay
 ‘ them, in the nature of Transports: But it
 ‘ was a subtle and malicious Invention to say,
 ‘ that the Owners, who endeavour’d to struggle
 ‘ with such Proceedings, had their Ears cut off.
 ‘ And forasmuch, as these Reports must have
 ‘ been rais’d with the View only of imposing
 ‘ upon the *British* Nation, and incensing them
 ‘ at the Expence of dismal Tragedies and visible
 ‘ Dangers, contrary to their own Interest,
 ‘ Time will sufficiently satisfy the World, that
 ‘ these Pretexs are very wide of Truth.

‘ ’Tis not deny’d here, that peradventure
 ‘ the *English* Consul had been arrested, and some
 ‘ other Reprizals order’d, which surely did not
 ‘ happen before the Sea-Fight: And to hear
 ‘ the Ministry of *London* talk, they will not only
 ‘ dispose of the Kingdoms and Provinces of
 ‘ others, but we must moreover calmly put up
 ‘ the Affront of their Insults, and sit down silently
 ‘ by the Violence of their Conduct.

‘ The Complaint that is made, of the Threat-
 ‘ ning to detain the Effects of the *English* Merchants,
 ‘ falls to the Ground; for the King,
 ‘ notwithstanding Admiral *Bing* declar’d, upon
 ‘ his Arrival in the *Spanish* Sea, that he had Orders
 ‘ to employ the Force of his Squadron
 ‘ against the Enterprizes of our Army in *Italy*,
 ‘ and that such a Detention would be look’d upon
 ‘ as the Consequence of so inurious a Declaration,
 ‘ and so groundless a Rupture, would

' not take the Advantage of that Juncture of
 ' Affairs (whatever Reason and Right he had
 ' so to do) to deprive the *English* of the Treas-
 ' sures, which they had dispers'd up and down
 ' in his Majesty's Dominions. On the contrary,
 ' such was his Benevolence, that he permitted
 ' them to gather in the same, always preferring
 ' to his own Satisfaction the Common Welfare
 ' of a Nation, with which he is in Friendship,
 ' and which hath no Share in the World in the
 ' evil Conduct of a small Number of particular
 ' Persons, who sacrifice the whole Nation to
 ' their ambitious Designs.

' The Proofs which his Majesty hath given
 ' of his good Faith and sincere Friendship for
 ' the King of *Great Britain*, during the most
 ' stormy and perilous part of his Reign, and
 ' the Treaty concluded with Mr. *Bubb*, whence
 ' such great Advantages did accrue to that
 ' Monarch, that the Gratitude so natural to
 ' Sovereigns oblig'd him to speak of them to
 ' his Parliament, and to mention his Catholick
 ' Majesty and the *Spaniards* as his fast Friends,
 ' faithful Allies, and Partakers in the Welfare and
 ' Tranquility of the King of *Great Britain* and
 ' his Subjects, which were equally attack'd and
 ' disturb'd by the miserable intestine Divisions in
 ' his Kingdom: These Tryals, which his *Britan-
 ' nick* Majesty hath had of the Friendship and
 ' Generosity of the Catholick King, prove the
 ' contrary of what Mr. *Craggs* supposes in his
 ' said Letter, as if there had been a Talk of
 ' openly declaring in the Favour of the Pretender.
 ' Touching the Archduke's Renunciation of
 ' *Tuscany*; that Prince having never any Right
 ' to claim those Territories, 'tis an easy Mat-
 ' ter

ter to persuade him to yield them, or at least to abate of the wide-extended Projects for aggrandizing his Dominions.

This Ministry do acknowledge they wrote the Letter of the 20th of *August*, which Mr. *Craggs* refers to in his, and which the King order'd his Embassadors at *London* and the *Hague* to make publick, his Majesty being desirous to justify his Conduct in that Manner, and make appear that his Undertakings, the raising of Troops, and retrieving of his Navy, did not reach to the depriving the *English* Nation of the Commerce of the *Indies*, as the Ministry of *London* have endeavour'd to insinuate, to create a perfect Diffidence and entire Hatred between the two Nations. Besides, the repeated Proofs, which the King of *Spain* hath given of his generous Carriage towards the King of *Great-Britain*, will at all Events convince and assure him, that the abovemention'd Letter was not publish'd with the Design of incensing his Subjects against his Government; tho' there are few, who do not know, that the Maxims and particular Views of some of the *English* Ministers are prejudicial and destructive of the Common Welfare.

As for Mr. *Craggs*'s alledging in his Letter, that the King his Master doth not pretend to any other Trade for his Subjects, with those of his Catholick Majesty, than what is stipulated for them by the Treaties; it cannot be thought, that is the said Prince's Meaning; because he is not ignorant, that beside what his Catholick Majesty so generously granted by the Treaty of *Utrecht*, he extended yet farther

' ther his Royal Beneficence, by receding af-
 ' terward from the three Explanatory Articles,
 ' and by enlarging considerably the *Assiento*
 ' Treaty for Slaves, the more to oblige the
 ' *English*. And the World will easily judge,
 ' from these two last Treaties, what a high Es-
 ' teem his Catholick Majesty hath had for the
 ' the King of *Great-Britain* and his Subjects;
 ' and that, instead of thinking of new Imposts
 ' and Duties upon the Merchandizes of that
 ' Crown, he hath yielded, in behalf of Com-
 ' merce, all the Advantages granted to him by
 ' the Congress of *Utrecht*.

' Mean while, the Evil-minded of the *London*
 ' Ministry have not only endeavour'd to create
 ' a Diffidence in the Minds of the *British* Na-
 ' tion, by insinuating that there are Manufac-
 ' tories and Work-Houses newly erected in
 ' *Spain*; but they have also with the same Ar-
 ' tifice gone about to persuade Foreign Powers,
 ' that it was indispensibly necessary to curb the
 ' Strength of that Monarchy, and to ruin its
 ' Fleet, which (according to them) was design'd
 ' to disturb the Publick Tranquility, and to de-
 ' prive them all, without Distinction, of their
 ' Commerce.

' For what concerns the Manufactures, it
 ' is notorious, that were they much more nu-
 ' merous than they are, they could never sup-
 ' ply the Demand in *Spain*; and that the Com-
 ' merce of the *Indies*, humanly speaking, cannot
 ' be maintain'd without Foreign Merchandizes;
 ' partly, because the Inhabitants of these King-
 ' doms shew very little Inclination to carry on
 ' Manufactures; and partly, because God, in
 ' his unsearchable Providence, hath given the

†

' *Indies*

Indies into the Protection of the Spaniards, to the end that all the People in the World should equally share in their Productions.

Concerning the Naval Force, the King limited it to such a moderate Number, that Men can hardly (without Partiality) think it sufficient to convoy the Galeons, and guard the Coasts of Spain; which is verif'd by the Account which the *English* publish'd, of the Number and Rates of the Ships, as also of the Place where they met them in the Sea-Fight of Sicily. And lastly, I must observe to your Excellency, that 'tis acknowledged that Mr. *Cragg*, by his vain Discourses, evades the Mention of the Violence committed against his Majesty's Squadron; and it appears that he requires it should be believ'd we were attack'd with Reason, upon no other Motive, than because we had before been unjustly threaten'd: But the Ministry of *London* must maintain the Treaties with due Honour and Good-Faith, if they would preserve the King's Friendship and the Commerce of the *British* Nation. I am, &c.

This last Letter, which gave a true Idea of what the Minister and Court of *Spain* thought of his *Britannick* Majesty's Conduct, was also communicated to the *States General* by the Marquess de *Beretti Landi*, who did not fail to tack a Memorial to it; from whence that Minister took Occasion to observe to their High Mightinesses, into what a terrible Labyrinth they would infallibly plunge themselves, if they should yield to the Solicitations of the Enemies of *Spain*, enter into their Views, and prefer the Name

Name of Enemy to that of Pacifick Mediators, which they might still preserve, since his Catholick Majesty refer'd his Interests to them, desiring nothing, but that they would find out Means to save the Honour of his Crown and of the *Spanish* Nation.

The Enemies of *Spain* did not gain all the Advantages they expected from the Fight off of *Syracusa*. The *English* were the first, on whom the *Spaniards* reveng'd the Loss of their Ships: Several of their Merchants and Consuls were put under Arrest, Inventories were taken of their Effects, which were remov'd to Places of Security; several of their Ships returning from the Ports of the *Levant* or *Italy* with rich Cargoes, not knowing what had pass'd, ran into the very Mouths of the *Spaniards*, by casting Anchor in their Harbours. Indeed, the Governors and Magistrates of the Maritime Towns did several things upon this Occasion without Orders from Court; and the King shew'd his Disapprobation of it, as soon as he had Information thereof, by granting all the *English* that were in his Dominions entire Liberty, and thereby convincing them, that he did not impute all that had pass'd to their Nation. In respect to *Sicily*, the Defeat of the *Spanish* Fleet, instead of retarding the Execution of their Designs, did only serve as it were for a time to push them on the faster; for on one hand the *Sicilian* Militia took up Arms for 'em, the chief Nobility engag'd to raise new Regiments at their own Expence, and even the Clergy contributed freely, after having form'd Associations in Favour of *Spain*; so that the Citadel of *Messina* was soon oblig'd to capitulate, notwithstanding all the Suc-

Cardinal ALBERONI. 189

Succours and Refreshments which the Garrison receiv'd every Day by Favour of the *English* Fleet.

Melazzo and *Syracusa* were the only Places that remain'd in the Hands of the *Piedmontese* Troops, the one on the North, and the other on the East Side of the Island, and both of like Importance; so that the Marquess *de Lede*, being dubious which of the two he should attack first, after the Reduction of *Messina*, resolv'd at length upon the Siege of *Melazzo*, which he undertook in the beginning of *October*, and which lasted near seven Months.

During these Transactions in *Sicily*, an Event happen'd at *Rome*, which surpriz'd the whole World. We have already shewn what happen'd to the Cardinal *del Giudice*, and with what seeming Resignation he submitted to the Orders of the Court of *Spain*. But the Sequestration which the Marquess *de Lede* order'd of the Revenues of his Eminency's Benefices in *Sicily*, made him quite impatient, and, after several Conferences with his Holiness, he erected the Arms of the House of *Austria* over the Gate of his Palace, to shew both *Italy* and the whole Christian World, that he renounc'd his Oaths of Fidelity, which he had on so many Occasions renew'd to his Catholick Majesty, to throw himself under the Protection not of Neutral Powers, but of the declar'd Enemy of *Spain*, to all whose Secrets he was privy, having been Prime Minister of that Court for several Years. The Cardinal judging at the same time that various Sentiments would be pass'd upon his Conduct, some of which might not be for his Honour,

nour, publish'd the Motives of his changing Sides in the following Manifesto, by way of Letter.

A DECLARATION of the Motives which oblig'd Cardinal del Giudice to abandon the Party of King Philip, and espouse the Party of the Emperor, and place the Imperial Arms over the Gate of his Palace at Rome, in the Month of December, 1718. In a Letter to a Friend.

SIR,

IN your last you express'd to me your Surprise at the Resolution of Cardinal *Giudice*. Considering therefore that you may have been misled by artful Insinuations, or by your being unacquainted with the true State of the Case, I take the Liberty to set it in a right Light, that you may see how justifiable the Conduct of the Cardinal is in this Affair. I shall wave at present the extraordinary Accidents that beset him at the Court of *Spain*, occasion'd by malicious and false Reports; and content myself with telling you, that when he retir'd to *Rome* to enjoy Quietness there, after having serv'd that Crown in several Stations, immediately upon his Arrival, Cardinal *Acquaviva*, by Order of King *Philip*, notified to all the Dependants of *Spain*, that they ought to look upon the Cardinal as entirely out of his Favour. This being surprizing News to the Cardinal, he represented to King *Philip* what had been done, desiring him to acquaint him with the

Cardinal ALBERONI. 191

the Motives; and directed his Letter to the Duke of Orleans, that he might be the more certain the same would be deliver'd to the said Prince; which tho' it was deliver'd accordingly, yet the Cardinal not being able to obtain the least Answer, with the greatest Resignation submitted to so irregular and strange a Proceeding. Some Months after Cardinal Acquaviva, by a Letter he wrote to Cardinal Giudice, notified to him King Philip's Order, to take down the Arms of Spain from his Palace Gate; to which the Cardinal answer'd, that he would represent to the King himself his Sentiments on that Affair; but Acquaviva, not being satisfied with that Answer, return'd a very insolent Letter, to which Cardinal Giudice reply'd in Terms expressing his Resentment. However, by another Letter to King Philip, convey'd to him again thro' the Hands of the Duke of Orleans, he renew'd his Instances, to know the Reason of so unjust and violent an Order; and at the same time intimated, that a Person's having the Arms of a Crown over his Gate, did not imply that he was a Minister to that Prince, but only denoted that he was his Subject; and therefore if his Majesty persisted in his Resolution to have the said Arms taken down, he protested that he must understand himself to be no longer bound by any Ties of Vassalage; and, consequently, to be at full Liberty; upon which the Marquess de Grimaldi, by Order of King Philip, notified to the Cardinal, that his Majesty persisted in his Resolution to have the Arms taken down, and even threatned him with resenting it, in case he continued to disobey. Upon this new Intimation

Intimation the Cardinal took the said Arms down, and, in consequence of his Protestation, claim'd a Liberty of taking other Measures. Yet, continuing undetermined, and persuading himself, that after having obey'd, all further Resentment would cease for the future, he was inform'd that the Marquess de Lede had hardly entered *Palermo*, but he sequestered the Revenues of his Church at *Monreale*, whereby it appear'd that the said Sequestration must have been one of the first Articles in his Instructions. The Cardinal therefore considering, that at the Juncture when the Kingdom of *Naples* was lost, instead of following the Example of other Cardinals, his Countrymen, and keeping the Possession of his Patrimonial Estate, and his Ecclesiastical Revenues in that Kingdom, he had made a Sacrifice of both, and adhered to the Interest of King *Philip*. That after having been employ'd in the Service of *Spain* for several Years, and acquitted himself, in the Management of the most important Affairs, with a general Applause, which the late King of *France*, *Lewis XIV.* testified on all Occasions, he had met with the highest Ingratitude, which was an Effect of the blackest Perfidiousness; and seeing himself pursued with continual Persecutions at *Rome*, he found himself under an indispensable Necessity to have Recourse to other Methods, to shelter himself against such Persecutions: But, in order to proceed upon the best Advice, he represented to the Pope the Situation he was in, desiring his Council, Direction, and Protection, resigning his own Will to that of the most Holy Father, who being highly satisfi'd

Cardinal ALBERONI. 193

fy'd with the Cardinal's Moderation, determin'd, that he being entirely at Liberty from all the former Ties he had been under to *Spain*, the Consideration of his being a *Neapolitan* Cardinal ought to prevail; and that consequently he ought to put himself under the Imperial Dominion, on such Terms as other Cardinals had done, who were Natives of that Kingdom; his Holiness charging himself with settling the Manner of it with the Emperor, by the Means of his Embassador. This Interposition had such Effect, that very favourable Answers came from his Imperial Majesty, expressing his Satisfaction and high Esteem for the Cardinal; in Consequence of which, and with the Permission of his Holiness, the Cardinal caus'd the Emperor's Arms to be placed over the Gate of his Palace, in the same manner as is practis'd by other Cardinals, his Imperial Majesty's Subjects. This faithful and incontestable Account will, I am sure, free your Mind of that Prejudice, which may have been given you by other Relations, and you will judge of the Justice of the Cardinal's Proceedings by his exemplary Patience and Circumspection, and silence the artful Clamours of those, who out of Envy, or impotent Passion against the Imperial Dominion in *Italy*, utter imprudent Detestations and Curses.

I am, &c.

The Cardinals *Acquaviva* and *Alberoni* were so severely attack'd by this Manifesto, that they could not let it go long without an Answer; for it appear'd, by the whole Scope of the
O Letter,

Letter, that the Cardinal *del Giudice* did not look upon the Catholick King as the Author of the Persecution he complain'd of; but the Person, who was commission'd to draw up the Answer, discovering both his want of Temper and Equity, return'd no Answer to the Complaints of that Cardinal, but launch'd out into Invectives against certain Terms of his Eminency's Manifesto. The Answer, however, made a great Noise at *Rome*, and the Reader may judge of it by the following Extract.

The late Misdemeanors of Cardinal *del Giudice* are of such a Nature and so many, that his Catholick Majesty gives a shining Proof of his great Clemency, in putting no other Command upon him, than to take down the Arms of his Monarchy; and in only sequestering the Revenues of the Archbishoprick of *Monreale*; for his Majesty had very powerful Precedents, and just Reasons to carry it with more Severity towards the Cardinal, his Subject, who has quite violated the Obedience and Gratitude due to his Sovereign and Benefactor, who only desir'd a reasonable Submission, in an Affair both just in itself, and in its Circumstances. The Power of the Catholick King is known all over the World; and no Body is ignorant of Examples of other Cardinals that have been severely treated at *Rome* itself, as well as all over *Italy*, when any Princes have thought fit to satisfy their Honour and Vengeance, and the Reasons of his Catholick Majesty will be no longer a Mystery, after reading the following Reflections on the Manifesto,

Cardinal ALBERONI. 195

‘ Manifesto, which was compos’d in Favour of
‘ the Cardinal *del Giudice*.

‘ Such a Manifesto appears to me like bad
‘ Council in a bad Cause, for whoever will but
‘ examine the uncivil Expressions which the
‘ Author makes use of every now and then, must
‘ be oblig’d to own, that he either knows not
‘ or has no Value for the Laws of Honour,
‘ which oblige every one to speak with Gravity
‘ and Modesty, who undertakes to tell the Pub-
‘ lick what they knew not before. But this is
‘ infinitely more expected from an Inferior and a
‘ Subject, who is put to the hard necessity of
‘ pleading before the Publick, against his Supe-
‘ rior and his Sovereign. If this be a Crime,
‘ what shall we say of an Author, who so often
‘ repeats the Terms, *Strange Effects of the Malice*
‘ *of false Reports ! irregular and strange Resolutions !*
‘ *unjust and violent Declarations ! the greatest Ingrati-*
‘ *tude work’d up by the malignant Influences of*
‘ *Treachery ! Envy and Passion without a Parallel ?*
‘ Expressions which all relate to the Catholick
‘ King, or his Ministers, at *Madrid and Rome*,
‘ whereby his Majesty is grossly affronted over
‘ again ; for those loose and ill-natur’d Expres-
‘ sions which are made use of against his Mi-
‘ nisters, cannot fail to reflect upon his Majesty.
‘ Neither has any regard been had to Decency,
‘ nor to Civility, nor, perhaps, to the Truth it-
‘ self, in those magnify’d *Sacrifices, Services and*
‘ *Approbations*, given to the Cardinal’s Conduct,
‘ in whose Favour there’s such a mighty Parade,
‘ with the Testimonies of *Lewis XIV*, to which
‘ it is added, [*And since he has met with the greatest*
‘ *Ingratitude that Treachery could produce ;*] I shall,

' in the Sequel, answer those Expressions with
 ' the more Solidity, because I propose to set all
 ' the Facts and Circumstances in their due
 ' Light: But before I do this, the Author must
 ' give me leave to ask him, if his Eminency's Ser-
 ' vices are to be compared with the Services of
 ' so many Heroes, who, after having enlarged
 ' and defended the *Spanish Empire in Europe and*
 ' *the Indies*, have been constrain'd to submit to
 ' the Vicissitudes of Fortune, and to lose the
 ' Favour of their Sovereign, the Government
 ' of Affairs, and the Command of Armies.
 ' These, by the Resignation with which they
 ' have submitted, both in Word and Deed, have
 ' given publick Proofs that they were perswaded
 ' nothing could excuse us in withholding our Ser-
 ' vice, much less our Obedience and Respect
 ' due to our Benefactor, and to our Sovereign.
 ' Such Conduct as this would, undoubtedly,
 ' have been very becoming a Cardinal, a Bishop,
 ' or Grand Inquisitor, because the Institution of
 ' those Dignities, and the Idea which Men com-
 ' monly have of 'em, is to set Rules and Examples
 ' of Moderation and a good Behaviour to all
 ' other Subjects. Let the Author of the Manifesto
 ' tell me then of whom he borrow'd an Account
 ' so aggravated, between the Catholick King
 ' and the Cardinal *del Giudice*, supposing all that
 ' he says of *Patrimonial and Ecclesiastical Estates*
 ' *sacrificed for the King, to whom he had done great*
 ' *Services for several Years*, to be actually true.
 ' But let us draw up an Account on the other
 ' Side, over against this *Sacrifice*, of the Vice-
 ' royalty of *Sicily*, the Archbishoprick of *Mon-*
 ' *reale*, the Credit he had at *Rome*, while he was
 ' intrusted there with the Affairs of *Spain*, the
 ' Office

Cardinal ALBERONI. 197

‘ Office of Grand Inquisitor, that of First Minister of all the *Spanish* Monarchy, the most honourable Post of Governor to the Prince of *Asturias*, the Honours and Riches either granted or procured for his Nephews; and then let us examine whether his pretended *Sacrifice* will answer the Total of so much Wealth, so many noble Employments, enough to immortalize his Name.

‘ But before we go farther, let the Author tell me, with respect to the Approbations and constant Encomiums of *Lewis XIV*, in Favour of the Cardinal, whether the Catholick King ought to retain the same Tendernefs for the Cardinal as his Majesty’s Illustrious Grandfather, rather than exert his own Power, and imitate even that great King, who was so exact in keeping up the Rights of a Sovereign, and the Dignity of a King. In short, without mentioning many Cardinals, who underwent the sad Experience of *Lewis XIV*’s Power, during the long and remarkable Course of his Life, did that Monarch’s Esteem for the Cardinal *del Giudice* prevent his Resentment against him, when he detain’d him a considerable Time at *Bayonne*, divested of his Office of Grand Inquisitor, into which he was not re-admitted, but by the Clemency of his Catholick Majesty, and the Request of the Queen?

‘ The Author, after this Preamble, gives a short Narrative of what drew *Lewis XIV*’s Indignation upon the Cardinal Inquisitor; and then proceeds to the first Cause of his Disgrace, which, says he, was opposing the Queen’s Sentiment, when she press’d the Departure of the Auxiliary Fleet for the *Levant*, which the Car-

'dinal was for sending to the Coasts of *Italy* to
 'force the Pope to answer all the Demands of the
 'Court of *Spain*. Then he gives an Account how
 'the Cardinal retired, and of his Quarrel with Car-
 'dinal *Acquaviva* at the Cardinal *de la Tremouille's*
 'House on *St. Lucia's* Day, which occasion'd the
 'Order to take down the King's Arms from the
 'Gate of his Palace, and of the pretended Dis-
 'obedience of the Cardinal, or rather his Ob-
 'stinacy, which brought upon him the Confisca-
 'tion of his Ecclesiastical Revenues in *Sicily*.
 'From hence the Author takes Occasion to
 'shew, that the Cardinal has forc'd the King to
 'treat him with so much Severity.

Cardinal *Alberoni* was charg'd, not only at
Rome and *Vienna*, with what had pass'd between
 those Courts and that of *Madrid*; but they be-
 gan to talk the same Language at other Courts.
 The Duke of *Savoy* talk'd openly, that that
 Minister had trick'd him; and complain'd of it
 to the Courts of *France* and *England*, imploring
 their Assistance as Guarantees of the Treaty of
Utrecht, and the Act of Cession. He sent the Mar-
 quess of *St. Thomas* forthwith to the Court of
Vienna, where a Retrocession, which had been
 already so long negotiated, was finish'd, and fol-
 low'd by the Adhesion of the Court of *Turin* to
 the Quadruple Alliance, in which were inserted
 Articles of a new Plan of Accommodation be-
 tween the Courts of *Vienna*, *Turin* and *Madrid*,
 whereby the Duke of *Savoy* changes his Title of
 King of *Sicily*, into that of King of *Sardinia*,
 which the Mediators promise to put him in Pos-
 session of, in Exchange for *Sicily*, which he yields
 to the House of *Austria*; the Right of Rever-
 sion

sion and Devolution reserv'd to the Crown of *Spain* on this Kingdom being transfer'd on the same Conditions to that of *Sardinia*.

The new King of *Sardinia* being desirous to give an Account to the Publick of the Justice of his Proceedings, his Ministers publish'd in *France* and *Holland* a sort of Manifesto, wherein he complains loudly against the whole Conduct of the *Spanish* Ministry, who, upon mere Suspensions and Probabilities, had form'd a Design to take an entire Kingdom from him, at the same time that the said Ministry propos'd Treaties to him of the strictest Union : And to prove the Faithfulness of the Minister, who in all his Negotiations had nothing in View but to deceive, he concludes his Manifesto with a Letter written from *Madrid* by the Secretary *Don Michel Fernandes Durand*, and by the Cardinal's Order, dated the 25th of *July*, and directed to the Marquess *de Villa Major*, the *Spanish* Resident at *Turin*.

' By that time this comes to your Hands, they
' will have receiv'd Advice in the Court where you
' are, of the Place where our Fleet has stop'd, and
' of the Landing they have made in *Sicily*, having
' taken Possession of the City of *Palermo* the 5th In-
' stant ; and the King our Master orders your Ex-
' cellency, that as soon as you have received this,
' you represent and assure his *Sicilian* Majesty,
' that the Design in passing an Army into that
' Island, proceeds not from any Design his Ma-
' jesty has ever had, or even thought of failing in his
' good Faith, or violating the Treaty of the Ces-
' sion of the Kingdom of *Sicily* ; but that he has
' been induc'd to this only by the moral and no-
' torious Assurance he has, that a Design is form'd,

and Measures taken for despoiling (without the least Foundation of Reason or Justice) his *Sicilian* Majesty, of that Kingdom, in order to put it into the Hands of the Archduke, and thereby augment his too great Power, so prejudicial, and so fatal to *Europe*, to the Liberty of *Italy*, and the publick Good. A Project so extraordinary, and so fatal to all *Exaope*, and the just and indispensable Necessity which obliges the King our Master to oppose the aggrandizing of his Enemy, knowing besides, that his *Sicilian* Majesty is not in a Condition to resist the Violence of the Potentates Mediators, who conjunctly with the Archduke would despoil him of that Kingdom; are powerful and incontestable Motives which have induc'd his Majesty to direct his Arms into *Sicily*; protesting at the same time, that he has never had the least Intention to give Offence to his *Sicilian* Majesty.

The King is convinc'd, that the Reality of these Expressions will persuade that Sovereign of the solid Reasons, and the pressing Motives that he has had for taking such a Resolution; assuring himself, that notwithstanding what has happen'd, if his *Sicilian* Majesty will cultivate a good Harmony and Correspondence with *Spain*, there will arise from it signal and glorious Advantages, and the King our Master will always concur with his Forces and all his Power in soliciting the Satisfaction of his *Sicilian* Majesty, and in augmenting the Bonds of Amity, Interest and Kindred, which establish, and ought to preserve the most perfect Union between the two Crowns, and the two Nations.

July 25, &c.

This

This Manifesto gave the Cardinal an Opportunity in his Turn, to inform the Publick of the Motives of an Expedition which had caus'd so great a Surprize : He did it so as to set in a full Light the Equity of the Conduct of the Catholick King, shewing that he only undertook the Conquest of this Kingdom to keep it for the Duke of *Savoy*, from whom it was taken away by a Project of Accommodation, and to maintain the Right of Reversion and Devolution, which he had reserved to himself by the Act of Cession, and which his Highness endeavour'd to destroy by treating of a Retrocession with the Emperor, as the Court of *Madrid* was convinc'd by the Ministers of *France* and *England*, and by the Earl *Stanhope's* Memorial of *May 26, 1718*. In short, the Author of the Manifesto did not fail to aggravate the Grounds which his Highness himself had given to the Court of *Madrid* to treat him thus, after having refus'd the Advantages of an Alliance which was offer'd to him.

The King of *Sardinia's* Entrance into the Quadruple Alliance, rendring certain separate Articles of the said Treaty of no effect, no Means were omitted to compleat it by obtaining the Adherence of the States General. The Marquess *de Prié* having quitted *Brussels*, where the Troubles which threaten'd a general Rebellion did nevertheless require his Presence, went to the *Hague* to assist the Lord *Cadogan* to facilitate the said Accession. Their High Mightinesses refus'd to hearken to any Proposition on this Head, till the King of *England*, as Guarantee of the Barrier-Treaty concluded at *Antwerp*, had first procur'd the Execution of it, which met with several Difficulties on the Part
of

of the Inhabitants of *Flanders* and *Brabant*. The Resident *Pesters* had labour'd for several Months with the Deputies of *Flanders* and *Brabant*, to find out Means of an Accommodation. At length Conferences were begun at the *Hague* between the Deputies of their High Mightinesses, the Marquess *de Prie* and the Earl of *Cadogan*, which concluded in a Convention, explaining and correcting the Treaty of *Antwerp*; of the Execution and Ratification of which his *Britannick* Majesty was Guarantee.

This Obstacle being remov'd, it was believ'd it wou'd be no longer a Difficulty to obtain the Concurrence of their High Mightinesses, which was the more desir'd, because it wou'd take away the only Resource left to Cardinal *Alberoni*, and put him under a Necessity to incline the King his Master to Sentiments of Peace. The Courts of *France*, *Vienna* and *London*, when they courted the Union of their High Mightinesses upon this Occasion, had not so much in View the strengthening of their Party against *Spain*, as the weakning of the latter; because they were persuaded, that if the Republick were to remain in a Neutrality, the Court of *Spain* would from thence always find Resources of the last Importance, of which she wou'd be depriv'd as soon as ever their High Mightinesses shou'd enter into the Alliance. In short, while this Affair was negotiating at the *Hague*, there was Advice that the Port of *Amsterdam*, and some other Harbours of *Zealand*, were full of Ships bought by the *Spanish* Ministers, and laden with all Sorts of Ammunition, which *Spain* cou'd get in *Holland* while she had Money, and the Republick continu'd neuter. 'Twas for this Reason that the Cardinal took
so

so much at Heart this Neutrality, which the Marquess *de Beretti Landi* never ceas'd to desire of, and to recommend to their High Mightinesses by the most cogent Reasons possible, which are for the most part contained in the following Letter that Cardinal *Alberoni* wrote to him on the 24th of *October*.

S I R,

THE King receives positive Advices from different Parts (tho' he does not believe it however) of the Design which this Republick has to enter into the same Measures and Engagements which the other Powers have contracted. His Majesty, who has always look'd upon Messieurs the States-General to be disinterested, and that their Conduct was accompanied with Maxims pacifick and full of Justice, did believe, that in consequence of such a laudable Proceeding, they would keep themselves impartial, and that they would look on the Alliance, to which they are sollicit, with an Aversion, which a Project so pernicious, so fatal, and so contrary to the Publick Good, ought to inspire. The true Interests of the United Provinces consist (and who does not know it) to maintain themselves in a State of Neutrality, because, by this means, they will draw upon themselves a general Applause during the present System, and a Conjunction so critical.

The Princes themselves engag'd in the War, reputing this Republick as the Arbiter and the only Resource for reconciling their Minds, and re-establishing the Tranquility, will pressinglly solicit

‘ solicit its Friendship, and in this manner, Messieurs, the States will make the noblest Figure which they can wish for in this World, obtaining, by their Indifference and Impartiality, considerable Advantages for their Commerce, which the other Nations have lost by their false Conduct.

‘ All *Europe* knows the Ends and Intentions of the Powers who have form’d the Project, and of those who adhere to it ; but it would be too precipitant a Step, and an incomprehensible Blindness, which would subject the Republick, if one may forge the Term, to an intolerable Servitude, and render it in the Eyes of the rest of *Europe* a Slave to the Passions of another, if by acceding to this same Project she will contribute to the Aggrandizement of the too great Power of the Archduke, which in time will become extremely fatal to the Rights and Liberties of the People.

‘ His Majesty has heard with Pleasure, the Advice which your Excellency sent him, that the Republick had nam’d a Minister to reside in his Court, with the Character of Ambassador, and will attribute this Nomination to the Effect of the Sage Resolutions which Messieurs the States General are accusom’d to take, so much the more, that by the Arrival of their Ambassador, the Amity and good Correspondence betwixt the King our Master and the United Provinces is augmented, and an Overture given to some Treaty of Accommodation betwixt the Discontented Princes, crowning by Consequence this Republick with the infallible Glory of having given Peace to *Europe*, avoiding

‘ avoiding by their amicable Mediation the fatal
‘ Events of an unhappy War.

‘ On the contrary, if she suffer her self to be
‘ carry’d away with the Instances of Sovereigns
‘ determin’d to oppose the just Cause of the
‘ King, she will not only tread under Foot all
‘ Equity and Reason, but, to his Majesty’s Grief,
‘ will be wanting in the Amity and Acknowledg-
‘ ment which she owes to so great a Monarch,
‘ her undoubted Friend, and will always be ex-
‘ pos’d to the Reproach which will unavoidably
‘ follow such a Step, that will be taken for the
‘ greatest Affront done to *Spain*.

‘ As the King desires more and more to cul-
‘ tivate the most perfect Union with this Repub-
‘ lick, whose Glory and Advantages he has at
‘ Heart, his Majesty orders me to tell your Excel-
‘ lency, that you exhort Messieurs the States-
‘ General, in his Name, to depart and keep at
‘ a Distance from the Insinuations and particular
‘ Ends of the Ministers of the Powers, who call
‘ themselves Mediators, since their View is en-
‘ tirely contrary to the prudent Maxims of the
‘ Republick, whom your Excellency will assure
‘ that his Majesty is willing to continue his
‘ Amity ; and for cultivating it, and for the In-
‘ tention besides very well known to advance the
‘ publick Tranquility, he is dispos’d to contri-
‘ bute towards it very willingly, heark’ning to
‘ the Republick by all the Means possible and
‘ allowable to his Honour.

Most of the Provinces were already drawn
into the same Sentiments by the Speeches, Re-
monstrances, Memorials and Conferences of the
Marquess *Beretti Landi*, who acted with Vigor,

to thwart the Negotiations of the Earl of Cadogan.

While all these Negotiations and Intrigues were carrying on at the Courts of *Madrid*, *London*, *Turin* and the *Hague*, a great Conspiracy was form'd in *France*. This Kingdom has been us'd to extraordinary Revolutions under the Minority of their Kings. The Man, who durst not presume to expect the meanest Employ during the Reign of a King who is of Age, commonly thinks that under a Regency he is expos'd to the greatest Injustice, if he is not advanc'd to the most considerable Posts; and if those, who have Favours and Benefits to bestow, do not confer them upon himself with a Liberal Hand. This has been the Source of I know not how many Disgusts, which only wanted an Occasion to break out. Those, who had the Misfortune to be under these unhappy Circumstances, thought they could never find a more favourable Opportunity than that of the War against *Spain*; the rather, because an Affection for a Prince of the Blood of *France* might serve for a Cloak to cover all their false and criminal Proceedings; and a certain Fatality, owing to the Corruption of the Heart of Man, makes Vice and Guilt often unite Men, with whom the strictest Virtue could scarce ever get an Acquaintance. Thus the Malecontents confederated insensibly, and easily found Accomplices in the middle of the Court itself. Their Aim was to change the Government. Their Projects were regulated. The Business was no less than to change the Regency, by taking it away from a Prince to whom all Voices had given it, to transfer it to another, they scarce themselves knew

knew who ; but what horrible Robberies, Murders, Prophanations, &c. must have been the Prelude ! This Confederacy wanted a Head, and *Spain* furnish'd them with one ; for they were not ignorant of the Disposition of Cardinal *Alberoni*. This Minister had already given Proofs with what Zeal he embrac'd all Occasions, which were very extraordinary and difficult to conduct. In a Word, he had the grand Resource of such Events at his Command. He was Master of the Treasures and Favours of a powerful Monarchy. The Heads of the Cabal therefore open'd their Minds to his Eminency, who look'd upon this unexpected Event as a singular Providence. The Consequences seem'd too favourable to him to reject them, and there was no Assistance which he did not promise to keep up those Persons in their bad Inclinations ; and in order to form a Correspondence with them the more secret, because it would pass through a Canal, which ought to be shut up by all the Laws of Equity and Politicks, he charg'd the Prince *de Cellamare*, Embassador of *Spain* at *Paris*, to negotiate with those Malecontents, to receive their Proposals, to concert Measures with them, and to assist them with his Advice.

While all the Cardinal thought fit to propose was offer'd in the most secret Conferences, this Minister thought fit to employ all sorts of Methods to manage, and gain, if possible, the Hearts of the Nation in general. This gave Rise to two Declarations of the King of *Spain* ; one of the ninth of *November*, in Favour of the *French* Merchants residing in his Dominions ; all the Terms of which seem'd to have been chosen to insinuate into the Affections of a Nation, who

is so fond of being caress'd. The other, which they took Care to disperse over all the Kingdom of *France*, was dated from *Prado* the 25th of *December*, 1718. The Cardinal Minister makes the King to deliver himself in it in Terms the most capable to encourage the Disaffected, and to excite them to a Revolt.

Thus the Cardinal by little and little made the Dispositions he thought necessary before the springing of the Mines; thus he contriv'd how the Projects of the Confederates should be executed: But on the very Instant he was ready to set Fire to the Train, they were happily countermin'd after the most inconceivable Manner. The Prince *de Cellamare*, who intrusted his Secretaries with nothing at all relating to this Affair, wrote with his own Hand the Dispatches he sent to the Cardinal. Either because he had not Time, or by I know not what happy Fatality, or for Reasons that perhaps may one Day be penetrated into, the Motives of which may be found already explain'd in a foregoing Sheet of this History: That Embassador wrote without a Cypher the last Letters that press'd the Execution of the Design, and enclos'd the black List of the Heads of the Conspiracy. And as if it were not enough that the Plot was discover'd without sacrificing the Conspirators, the Discovery of whose Design without doubt made them reflect upon themselves; both Declarations were committed to the same Express, the Abbot *Porto-Carrero*, Nephew to the famous Cardinal of that Name, a Person of Honour who might be confided in, but too remarkable for being the Bearer of such Dispatches, especially in a Conjunction when every one might
be

be suspected; it happen'd, as well might be foreseen, that the said Express was pursu'd and stop'd at *Poitiers*; where he was oblig'd to deliver up the Packet of Letters, which it was impossible for him either to burn or tear. The Packet was sent to Court with all possible speed; in the mean while the Marquess de *Monteleone's* Son, who being in Company with the Abbot *Porto-Carrero*, was an Eye-witness of every thing that pass'd, made as great Expedition, and even more than the Courier; for he arriv'd before him at *Paris*, and acquainted the Prince de *Cellamare* of the Fate of his Dispatches. In this Packet were enclos'd two Letters for the Cardinal, a List of the Names of those that were engag'd in the Design, two Copies of Manifesto's, a Writing that contain'd the Plan of the Design, an Abridgment of the Events in former Minorities; lastly, an eighth Writing, full of Reflections upon the Contents of the Manifesto's. All was sign'd by the Prince de *Cellamare*, who in those Letters plainly made it appear that he had so great a Hand in every thing that was concerted, as to forfeit the Rights and Pererogatives annex'd to his Character of Ambassador. Upon which Account, the Regent was not doubtful of what Measures he ought to take upon this Occasion; which were to secure the Person of that Ambassador and his Papers, hoping to find in the latter some clear Discoveries that were not in his Dispatches. However, it was done with all possible Decorum and Respect; so that notwithstanding the Chagrin this might occasion in the Ambassador, he could not complain of the Regent's Conduct, who, far from laying the Blame upon him,

complain'd only of the Cardinal, whom he look'd upon as the Author of all those Contrivances, on the Success of which his Eminency grounded that of his other Projects against *Italy*, and even against *England*.

While the *Spanish* Ambassador was treated in *France* with all the Respect imaginable; the Cardinal, who was as yet ignorant of what had pass'd there, carry'd it quite otherwise to the *French* Ambassador at *Madrid*. His Catholic Majesty being setz'd again with a kind of Dropsy that threaten'd his Life, had (as 'tis said) made his Will, in which he left the Regency to the Queen, jointly with the Cardinal. The Duke de *St. Aignan*, Ambassador of *France*, having Intelligence of it, declar'd his Sentiments on that Point, with a Freedom becoming his Character; but this gave Dislike to the Cardinal, who caus'd an Order to be notified to him from the King, to depart *Madrid* in twenty four Hours; and, without giving him Time to obey, sent an Exempt of the Life-Guard next Morning, who constrain'd the Minister and his Dutches to rise and depart immediately, without allowing them Time to settle their Affairs: And since he thought no Body would approve such an Act of Violence, for which no Reason was given, he forthwith dispatch'd an Express to the Prince de *Cellamare*, to whom he gave Advice of what had lately pass'd in these Terms.

What Advice soever arrives about the Proceedings with respect to the Duke of *St. Aignan*, that ought not in any wise to be taken as a Precedent to treat your Excellency after the same Manner: It was necessary to proceed thus

thus with the Duke, because he had his Audience of Leave, because he no longer bore any Character, and by reason of his bad Conduct. Your Excellency must be resolute to stay at *Paris*, and not to depart till you are compell'd by Force. In that Case you must submit, after having made the necessary Protestations to the Most Christian King, to the Parliament, and to all others that shall be thought proper, against the Violence committed by the Government of *France* to your Excellency's Person and Character; and if you are oblig'd to depart, you must first set Fire to all your Mines.

After this, no *Decorum* was any longer observ'd on either Side: The Cardinal forgetting that the Regent was of his Catholick Majesty's Blood, launch'd out into Invectives against his Person, and against the Regency; and instead of disowning what the Prince de Cellamare had done; as was expected, every Body was much surpriz'd to see distributed, even in the Heart of *France*, the very Letters and Manifesto's, mention'd in the Prince de Cellamare's Dispatches, that proceeded from the Pen of the Agents of the Conspiracy; the Expressions and Principles of which were made choice of to incite the whole Nation to Revolt against the Prince who govern'd them. These Pieces were suppress'd, as much as was possible, to save his Catholick Majesty's Honour, to whom the Government of *France* did not care to attribute the Sentiments that were couch'd in almost every Line.

In fine, the Courts of *France* and *England* being convinc'd by the violent Proceedings of the Cardinal, that his Eminency was resolv'd to influence his Catholick Majesty to push Matters to extremity, declar'd War against *Spain*; which was done at *Paris* and at *London* with the usual Formalities, after Manifestoes were publish'd, exposing to the View of all *Europe* the Injuries those Crowns had receiv'd from the *Spanish* Ministry, upon whom they laid the blame of all the Mischiefs that were like to be occasion'd by this new War.

It was thought at first, that these last Proceedings of two powerful Monarchies, that were able to attack *Spain* both by Sea and Land, would bring the Cardinal to Reason: But far from that, being more haughty and more obstinate than ever as to his Principles, and in continuing his Projects, it was discover'd that he made new Alliances in several Courts, which had conceiv'd great Umbrage against that of *England*, and were seemingly dispos'd to lay hold of the first Opportunity to shew their Resentment: But an unexpected Death defeated the Blow in Part, and reduc'd the Cardinal to a Necessity of having recourse to other Means, the Execution of which all *Europe* waits for with as much Impatience, as the projecting of them has occasion'd Surprise.

Tho' the Author of this History has given a pretty large Account of the Circumstances of the Cardinal del *Guadice's* Disgrace, yet I thought it would not be disagreeable to the Readers, if I should here give them his Eminency's Manifesto, with the Answer of the *Spanish* Ministers, as they were publish'd at *Rome*.

A DECLARATION of the *Motives* which oblig'd Cardinal del Giudice to abandon the Party of King Philip, and espouse the Party of the Emperor, and place the Imperial Arms over the Gate of his Palace at Rome, in the Month of December, 1718. In a Letter to a Friend.

SIR,

IN your last you express'd to me your Surprise at the Resolution of Cardinal *Giudice*. Considering therefore that you may have been misled by artful Insinuations, or by your being unacquainted with the true State of the Case, I take the Liberty to set it in a right Light, that you may see how justifiable the Conduct of the Cardinal is in this Affair. I shall wave at present the extraordinary Accidents that befel him at the Court of *Spain*, occasion'd by malicious and false Reports; and content myself with telling you, that when he retir'd to *Rome* to enjoy Quietness there, after having serv'd that Crown in several Stations, immediately upon his Arrival, Cardinal *Acquaviva*, by Order of King *Philip*, notified to all the Dependants of *Spain*, that they ought to look upon the Cardinal as entirely out of his Favour. This being surprizing News to the Cardinal, he represented to King *Philip* what had been done, desiring him to acquaint him with the Motives; and directed his Letter to the Duke of *Orleans*, that he might be the more certain the same would be deliver'd to the said Prince;

Prince; which tho' it was deliver'd accordingly, yet the Cardinal not being able to obtain the least Answer, with the greatest Resignation submitted to so irregular and strange a Proceeding. Some Months after Cardinal *Acquaviva*, by a Letter he wrote to Cardinal *Guidice*, notified to him King *Philip's* Order, to take down the Arms of *Spain* from his Palace Gate; to which the Cardinal answer'd, that he would represent to the King himself his Sentiments on that Affair; but *Acquaviva*, not being satisfied with that Answer, return'd a very insolent Letter, to which Cardinal *Guidice* reply'd in Terms expressing his Resentment. However, by another Letter to King *Philip*, convey'd to him again thro' the Hands of the Duke of *Orleans*, he renew'd his Instances, to know the Reason of so unjust and violent an Order; and at the same time intimated, that a Person's having the Arms of a Crown over his Gate, did not imply that he was a Minister to that Prince, but only denoted that he was his Subject; and therefore if his Majesty persisted in his Resolution to have the said Arms taken down, he protested that he must understand himself to be no longer bound by any Ties of Vassalage; and, consequently, to be at full Liberty; upon which the Marquess *de Grimaldi*, by Order of King *Philip*, notified to the Cardinal, that his Majesty persisted in his Resolution to have the Arms taken down, and even threatned him with resenting it, in case he continued to disobey. Upon this new Intimation the Cardinal took the said Arms down, and, in consequence of his Protestation, claim'd a Liberty of taking other Measures.

'sures. Yet, continuing undetermined, and
 'persuading himself, that after having obey'd,
 'all further Resentment would cease for the fu-
 'ture, he was inform'd that the Marquess *de*
 '*Lede* had hardly entered *Palermo*, but he se-
 'questred the Revenues of his Church at *Mon-*
 '*reale*, whereby it appear'd that the said Seque-
 'stration must have been one of the first Articles
 'in his Instructions. The Cardinal therefore
 'considering, that at the Juncture when the
 'Kingdom of *Naples* was lost, instead of fol-
 'lowing the Example of other Cardinals, his
 'Countrymen, and keeping the Possession of
 'his Patrimonial Estate, and his Ecclesiastical
 'Revenues in that Kingdom, he had made a
 'Sacrifice of both, and adhered to the Interest
 'of King *Philip*. That after having been em-
 'ploy'd in the Service of *Spain* for several Years,
 'and acquitted himself, in the Management of
 'the most important Affairs, with a general Ap-
 'plause, which the late King of *France*, *Lewis*
 '*XIV.* testified on all Occasions, he had met
 'with the highest Ingratitude, which was an
 'Effect of the blackest Perfidiousness; and seeing
 'himself pursued with continual Persecutions at
 '*Rome*, he found himself under an indispensable
 'Necessity to have Recourse to other Methods,
 'to shelter himself against such Persecutions:
 'But, in order to proceed upon the best Advice,
 'he represented to the Pope the Situation he
 'was in, desiring his Council, Direction, and
 'Protection, resigning his own Will to that of
 'the most Holy Father, who being highly satisf-
 'fy'd with the Cardinal's Moderation, deter-
 'mined, that he being entirely at Liberty from
 'all the former Ties he had been under to *Spain*,
 'the

the Consideration of his being a *Neapolitan* Cardinal ought to prevail; and that consequently he ought to put himself under the Imperial Dominion, on such Terms as other Cardinals had done, who were Natives of that Kingdom; his Holiness charging himself with settling the Manner of it with the Emperor, by the Means of his Embassador. This Interposition had such Effect, that very favourable Answers came from his Imperial Majesty, expressing his Satisfaction and high Esteem for the Cardinal; in Consequence of which, and with the Permission of his Holiness, the Cardinal caus'd the Emperor's Arms to be placed over the Gate of his Palace, in the same manner as is practis'd by other Cardinals, his Imperial Majesty's Subjects. This faithful and incontestable Account will, I am sure, free your Mind of that Prejudice, which may have been given you by other Relations, and you will judge of the Justice of the Cardinal's Proceedings by his exemplary Patience and Circumspection, and silence the artful Clamours of those, who out of Envy, or impotent Passion against the Imperial Dominion in *Italy*, utter imprudent Detestations and Curses.

I am, &c.

The

The ANSWER.

THE late Misdemeanors of Cardinal *del Giudice* are of such a Nature and so many, that his Catholick Majesty gives a shining Proof of his great Clemency, in putting no other Command upon him, than to take down the Arms of his Monarchy; and in only sequestring the Revenues of the Archbishoprick of *Monreale*; for his Majesty had very powerful Precedents, and just Reasons to carry it with more Severity towards the Cardinal, his Subject, who has quite violated the Obedience and Gratitude due to his Sovereign and Benefactor, who only desir'd a reasonable Submission, in an Affair both just in itself, and in its Circumstances. The Power of the Catholick King is known all over the World; and no Body is ignorant of Examples of other Cardinals that have been severely treated at *Rome* itself, as well as all over *Italy*, when any Princes have thought fit to satisfy their Honour and Vengeance, and the Reasons of his Catholick Majesty will be no longer a Mystery, after reading the following Reflections on the Manifesto, which was compos'd in Favour of the Cardinal *del Giudice*,

Such a Manifesto appears to me like bad Council in a bad Cause, for whoever will but examine the uncivil Expressions which the Author makes use of every now and then, must be oblig'd to own, that he either knows not or has no Value for the Laws of Honour, which

which oblige every one to speak with Gravity and Modesty, who undertakes to tell the Publick what they knew not before. But this is infinitely more expected from an Inferior and a Subject, who is put to the hard Necessity of pleading before the Publick, against his Superior and his Sovereign. If this be a Crime, what shall we say of an Author, who so often repeats the Terms, *Strange Effects of the Malice of false Reports! irregular and strange Resolutions! unjust and violent Declarations! the greatest Ingratitude work'd up by the malignant Influences of Treachery! Envy and Passion without a Parallel?* Expressions which all relate to the Catholick King, or to his Ministers, at *Madrid and Rome*, whereby his Majesty is grossly affronted over again; for those loose and ill-natur'd Expressions which are made use of against his Ministers, cannot fail to reflect upon his Majesty. Neither has any regard been had to Decency, nor to Civility, nor, perhaps, to the Truth itself, in those magnify'd *Sacrifices, Services and Approbations*, given to the Cardinal's Conduct, in whose Favour there's such a mighty Parade, with the Testimonies of *Lewis XIV.* to which it is added, [*And since he has met with the greatest Ingratitude that Treachery could produce;*] I shall, in the Sequel, answer those Expressions with the more Solidity, because I propose to set all the Facts and Circumstances in their due Light: But before I do this, the Author must give me leave to ask him, if his Eminency's Services are to be compared with the Services of so many Heroes, who, after having enlarged and defended the *Spanish Empire in Europe* and

the Indies, have been constrain'd to submit to the Vicissitudes of Fortune, and to lose the Favour of their Sovereign, the Government of Affairs, and the Command of Armies. These, by the Resignation with which they have submitted, both in Word and Deed, have given publick Proofs that they were persuaded nothing could excuse us in withholding our Service, much less our Obedience and Respect due to our Benefactor, and to our Sovereign. Such Conduct as this would, undoubtedly, have been very becoming a Cardinal, a Bishop, a Grand Inquisitor, because the Institution of those Dignities, and the Idea which Men commonly have of 'em, is to set Rules and Examples of Moderation and a good Behaviour to all other Subjects. Let the Author of the Manifesto tell me then of whom he borrow'd an Account so aggravated, between the Catholick King and the Cardinal *del Giudice*, supposing all that he says of *Patrimonial and Ecclesiastical Estates sacrificed for the King, to whom he had done great Services for several Years*, to be actually true. But let us draw up an Account on the other Side, over against this *Sacrifice*, of the Vice-royalty of *Sicily*, the Archbishoprick of *Monreale*, the Credit he had at *Rome*, while he was intrusted there with the Affairs of *Spain*, the Office of Grand Inquisitor, that of First Minister of all the *Spanish* Monarchy, the most honourable Post of Governor to the Prince of *Asturias*, the Honours and Riches either granted or procured for his Nephews; and then let us examine whether his pretended *Sacrifice* will answer the Total of so much Wealth, so many

many noble Employments, enough to immortalize his Name.

Every one knows how the Cardinal behav'd in his Journey from *France*, and how he still presum'd to exercise the Functions of Grand Inquisitor, publishing a Decree dated from *Marly* itself, the Place which the most Christian King took most delight in, wherein he attack'd the Writings of a famous *French* Author, the King's Advocate in Parliament. This was the immediate Cause of his Disgrace, for *Lewis XIV* being incens'd at it demanded Satisfaction, and would have the Cardinal punish'd, which oblig'd his Catholick Majesty to display all his Resentment against him at once, by depriving him of the Post of Grand Inquisitor, which he again restor'd to him by an Act of Favour not to be parallel'd. But he could not recover either *Lewis XIV*'th's Good Will or the Esteem of the *French* Nation; so that the Author of the Manifesto had better kept silence on the Article of the *French* King's Encomiums and Approbation, and should have confess'd on the other hand, that King *Philip* knows how to imitate the Resolution of his Illustrious Grandfather, when he finds it necessary to preserve the Right of his Royal Dignity; that as his Majesty knows how to reward the Merit of his Subjects, so he knows how to withdraw his Favour, when a Subject presumes upon the Score of his Services to set up for an Independency.

But since I am accidentally fallen upon this Article, I cannot forbear observing the Great Goodness of his Catholick Majesty. This Prince truly did not think it enough to re-establish the
Car-

Cardinal ALBERONI. 221

Cardinal in the Post of Grand Inquisitor, but he did it with such Marks of Goodness and Affection, that the Holy Father applauded his Majesty's Decree, and moreover, he appointed Monsieur *del Giudice*, his Eminency's Nephew, to be *Major Domo*. Then let those real Favours be compar'd with the Cardinal's Sacrifices and Services, which are so much magnified in his Manifesto, the Character of which we are now to examine, the same being full of Artifice and Falshoods, concealing, dissembling and injuring the Truth of the Facts; and of this do you yourself be the Judge.

At the same time that the Cardinal was restor'd to the Office of Grand Inquisitor, he was invested with another, no less honourable than envy'd, namely, that of Governor to the Prince of *Asturias*. Whose Will and Pleasure was this? Who obtain'd this new Favour for him? Was it not the Queen of *Spain*, who was prevail'd upon by the urgent and repeated Solicitations of the Cardinal, then Abbot *Alberoni*? and to forget or deny this, would be acting at the same time both against Truth and Reason. 'Tis true, that afterwards the Queen had good Reasons not to approve the Cardinal *del Giudice*'s Conduct; and the chief was, the Cardinal's opposing the Sentiments of that good and pious Queen, in endeavouring to persuade the King not to send his Fleet to the Relief of *Corfu*, when besieg'd, but rather to *Porto Longone*, in order to oblige the Pope, by Fear, Hope, or Necessity, to capitulate and give immediate Satisfaction on his Quarrels with the Court of *Spain*. This was the Opinion of the Archbishop of *Monreale*, of a Grand Inquisitor of
Spain,

Spain; in a Word, of the Cardinal *del Giudice*, who boasts so much of his Services to the Holy See. This Advice of the Cardinal, which the King himself did not approve, extremely provok'd the Queen, whose Piety promoted her instantly to solicit those Succours, of which *Corfu* was in so great need. This, added to some other Motives, oblig'd the Catholick King to remove the Cardinal *del Giudice* from the Tuition of the Prince, by a Letter; wherein his Majesty, amongst other things, said, 'That the Office of Grand Inquisitor requir'd all the Application possible of him who was invested with it; and that it could not be granted to him at the same time that he was diverted by the Post of Governor to the Prince.' On this Occasion his Majesty gave Proofs of his Justice, in leaving to the Cardinal the Office of Grand Inquisitor; of Equity, in giving him the Praises due to his Merit and Services; and of Wisdom, in committing the Government of the Prince into the Hands of the Duke of *Popoli*.

The said Letter being carried to the Cardinal about Midnight, he answer'd it next Morning, in these Terms: 'By a Letter this Night, your Lordship has done me the Honour to declare to me the Mind of his Majesty, who, considering that the Office of Grand Inquisitor demands all the Attention possible of him who is invested therewith; and that one and the same Person cannot find Leisure for the Education of the Prince, has resolv'd to discharge me of the latter Employ, by committing the Care of his Highness's Education to another Person. Upon sight of this Resolution, I must intreat your Lordship to represent to his Majesty,

Cardinal ALBERONI. 223

‘ jesty, the grateful Sense which I have of the
‘ Trust he has been pleas’d to repose in me, in
‘ committing the Prince’s important Education
‘ to my Charge; and of the Goodness with
‘ which he has vouchsaf’d to accept hitherto the
‘ Effects of my natural Insufficiency, supported
‘ only by the Efforts of my Zeal and Fidelity.
‘ And, confiding in his Royal Goodness, I
‘ humbly pray him to have regard to 48 Years
‘ continual Labours in the Service of the Holy
‘ See, and of his Majesty, with the Exactness and
‘ Disinterestedness known to the whole World;
‘ and to permit me to intreat his Holiness to dis-
‘ charge me from the Office of Grand Inquisi-
‘ tor, to the End, that reserving myself wholly
‘ for the Government of the Church, I may,
‘ with the more Leisure, prepare for my ap-
‘ proaching Voyage of Eternity.

From *Buqn Retiro*
July 12, 1716.

The Cardinal del Giudice.

Eternity is of all Motives the most pressing,
which made his Majesty’s Secretary return the
following Answer to the Cardinal. ‘ I have re-
‘ ceiv’d the Letter which your Eminency sent
‘ me this Morning, in answer to mine of last
‘ Night.

‘ Your Eminency begs leave of his Majesty,
‘ to intreat his Holiness to discharge you from
‘ the Office of Inquisitor General, that your
‘ Eminency may retire to the Government of
‘ your Church, to dispose yourself the better
‘ for your approaching Voyage of Eternity.
‘ When I first made a Report of it to his Ma-
‘ jesty, he order’d me to tell your Eminency,
‘ that being unable to oppose the Desire which
‘ your

' your Eminency manifests, of retiring to the
 ' Church, for an End so important as that
 ' which your Eminency declares in your Letter,
 ' he permits your Eminency (as you desire) to
 ' intreat his Holiness to discharge you from the
 ' Office of Inquisitor General. Moreover,
 ' Orders shall be given to Cardinal Acquaviva
 ' not to oppose the said Renunciation, but ra-
 ' ther to fortify it, if necessary, by the King's
 ' Consent, to the end that your Eminency may
 ' obtain Retirement to your Church, according
 ' to your Request, to enable you the better to
 ' prepare for Eternity.

As soon as the Renunciation was admitted,
 the Cardinal left *Spain*, and seriously began his
 Voyage to Eternity, in such a manner, that
 whoever has a Design to undertake a Journey so
 difficult, need only tread in his Eminency's
 Steps, and give himself up to Occupations as
 agreeable to his, which are not unknown to
 you, who are curious to know every thing that
 passes at *Rome*, and who inform yourself of the
 Genius's of the brightest and best Men in that
 City.

As soon as he arriv'd at *Rome*, he receiv'd a
 Visit from Cardinal Acquaviva, to whom he
 did not fail to return it, after which he receiv'd
 the same Civilities from all the *Spaniards*, which
 confutes a palpable Lie of the Author of the
 Manifesto, who says, *that as soon as he arriv'd at*
Rome, Cardinal Acquaviva signify'd to all the Sub-
jects of the Crown of Spain, by the King's Order,
that they must look upon the Cardinal del Giudice
as fallen from his Majesty's Favour. Can a more
 odious Falshood be advanc'd? since those two
 Cardinals

Cardinals did, at that time, give one another all the Proofs of true Friendship and a good Understanding, till the Consistory, which was held for the Promotion of Abbot *Alberoni*, tho' from that time every Body knows the Intrigues of the Cardinal *del Giudice*, to hinder the King from obtaining his Desire, and the Abbot *Alberoni* from attaining to the glorious Dignity of a Cardinal, insomuch that he was outrageous against the latter, by opposing his Advancement in a full Consistory.

The Author artfully passes over that Circumstance of the Consistory with Silence, because he was very sensible, that to say nothing of such an Action, would be a Diminution of the Justice of his Catholick Majesty's Resentment. But could he imagine, that a thing which was transacted in a publick Consistory, in the sight of *Rome* and the whole Church, and which surpriz'd all *Italy*, could remain a Secret? All *Spain* was exasperated at it, the King was offended, and the Sovereign Pontiff himself resented it. In a Word, Abbot *Alberoni* was recommended by the King, was extoll'd by his Holiness, and had the same Honour done him by the sacred College. In fine, a Peace which he had restor'd between the Priesthood and the Empire, and the greatest Services were spoken in his Favour; and I can assure you, that being then at *Rome*, I was a Witness there was not a Soul that thought the Cardinal *del Giudice's* Action excusable. Some said that his Eminency would have done better to have absented himself from the Consistory, and so not to have meddled with the Affair; others were of Opinion, that he should have wrote his Reasons to the Holy Father privately, and not have
Q been

been present at the Promotion; and there were some, who thought, that after he had communicated his Reasons to his Holiness in private, he might have been present in the Consistory; but that he should have conceal'd his Sentiments, pretended to be on the King's Side, and not have voted against the Promotion: Both the one and the other brought Examples of other famous Promotions, and all agreed in blaming the Cardinal *del Giudice's* Conduct, as what did not become a neutral Cardinal; and, by consequence, much less one who was a Subject; for the Dignity of the Purple does not exempt a Man from the Laws of Obedience; and tho' he be a free Person in a Consistory, he is nevertheless a Subject.

Altho' his Majesty was inform'd of the Unanimity with which the Cardinal's Conduct was blam'd, he was not a whit more enrag'd, and did not follow the Example of *Lewis the Great*, who severely punish'd a Cardinal that was his Subject, only for having given the Pope secret Instructions opposite to his Designs; but his Catholick Majesty, considering that the Pope, and the sacred College, were equally offended, contented himself with ordering his Ministers, and the Subjects of his Crown, who were at *Rome*, to have no Commerce, in any Manner or Place whatsoever, with the Cardinal *del Giudice*; and still let him have the Honour to keep his Majesty's Arms, and to enjoy the Revenues which belong'd to him in the Countries subject to *Spain*.

Is there any thing more Great and Generous than this Moderation; especially, considering that his Revenues were preserv'd, and his Nephews

Nephews honour'd with Employments? His Majesty distinguish'd that the Cardinal's Offence was Personal; and that the universal Blame he lay under for it, was Punishment enough. In short, every Body disapprov'd the Cardinal's Proceedings, the more because he had insulted even the Consistory; and his Majesty being satisfied with the Prince *de Cellamare's* Letter, which alone was sufficient to discover all the Shame of his Uncle's Conduct, would not concur in the Chastisement which the Publick inflicted with Severity enough.

This was the State of Things, when the Minister of *France*, according to Custom, kept the Festival of *St. Lucia*, which is celebrated by Divine Service first, and then a noble Repast. Ever since the the Crown of *Spain* came to the House of *Bourbon*, the Ministers and Subjects of *Spain* had been invited to this Solemnity; the Cardinal *del Giudice* had a Mind to be present, but Cardinal *Acquaviva* oppos'd it for this time; saying, that neither he nor the *Spaniards* cou'd assist in the Solemnity, if the Cardinal *del Giudice* should be there, considering the King's Prohibition; so that tho' the Cardinal *del Giudice* pretended he ought to be consider'd as a *Spaniard*, since he had also the Arms of that Monarchy over the Gate of his Palace; yet the Cardinal *Acquaviva* was so sensible of the contrary, that the Cardinal *del Giudice* kept away both from the Mass and the Feast.

The King was quickly inform'd of this Dispute, which was the true Reason that made his Majesty resolve to command the Cardinal *del Giudice* to take down the Arms of the Monarchy; for he could not suffer his Eminency,

after having been guilty of such an Offence, to enjoy the Protection and Honours, which are only granted by the Court, to shew its Esteem for the Subjects.

Did he, however, obey this Order without Delay? Did he, by his Obedience, open a Door for the King's Clemency and Goodness? Did he reflect that the Royal Dignity commonly requires, for preserving the Respect due to it, that a slight Punishment should go before Clemency and Pardon? No; he did nothing of all this; but, on the contrary, gave himself the Airs, one while, of a Subject, in resolving to keep up the Arms of the Monarchy; another while of an indifferent Person, in contemning the King's Orders; but such Shams as these were so far from suppressing, that they inflam'd the King's Wrath the more. I appeal for this to the Letter he wrote to Cardinal *Acquaviva*, wherein he demands his Assistance for keeping up the Arms; a Letter stuff'd with Pride, Arrogance and vain Conceit, affronting the King in the Person of his Minister; and wounding, thro' the Minister's Sides, a Person of Honour, equal to him in Dignity, superior in Blood, and still greater by his Ministry.

What was the Consequence? He was forc'd to take down the Arms: He had the Shame of Punishment without the Merit of Obedience, which he could never expect from his new way of Dependance; and a Sort of Subjection and Obedience, which no body ever practis'd. And with the Shame of taking down the Arms of the Monarchy he underwent the Loss of the Revenues of the Archbishoprick of *Monreale*.

This

This is a sincere Recital of the Fact, which the Author of the Manifesto has taken care partly to pass over in Silence, and partly to disguise. I may also say, that I pass over in Silence many Circumstances fit to render the Cardinal *del Giudice's* Conduct still blameable, in whose Favour all the Reasons alledg'd by the Author of the Manifesto are insufficient.

The first is in these Terms. 'His Eminency was scarce inform'd of such surprizing News, but he gave Advice to his Majesty of what had pass'd, and that the Letter might come safe to his Majesty's Hands, he sent it by the Duke of *Orleans*; and tho' he knew that Prince did not fail to do him this good Office, and receiv'd no Answer from the King, he sent a second Letter to his Majesty by the same Hand of the Duke of *Orleans*, earnestly beseeching his Majesty to grant him the Consolation, that he might be inform'd of the Causes of those violent Resolutions taken against him; adding at the same time, that to retain his Majesty's Arms on the Front of his Palace was not the Mark of any Office, or publick Employ, but only a publick Declaration that he valued himself upon his being a Subject of his Majesty; and he concluded this Letter with an Insinuation, that if the Resolution to make him take down the Arms was persisted in, he should look upon it to be such a Violation of all the Ties of Subjection, as would set him at full and entire Liberty.

Who would have thought, that the Cardinal could be so rash as to write such a Letter, and that the Author of a Manifesto could commit the gross Fault to quote it? For without speaking of the Delay and indirect way of communicating this Letter, who does not see, that the Letter alone renders the Cardinal Guilty, tho' he had not been so before? A Subject to write, *that he will be exempt from all Subjection!* A Subject to say, *that he will enjoy full and perfect Liberty!* 'Tis unnecessary to add Reflections to such Expressions as the Author of the Manifesto does not fail to interpret, by adding, *after this last Insinuation he caus'd the Arms of Spain to be taken down; but declar'd agreeably to the said Protestation, that he judg'd himself at full Liberty to take such Measures as he thought fit.*

Therefore the Sentence of the Deprivation of the Rents, which came not 'till after the Arms were taken down, was pass'd by the Cardinal *del Giudice* himself; for the Possession of Revenues in Sicily, and of the Grants and Favours of the King, was incompatible with so much Obstinacy, Contempt, and wavering Loyalty, the Consequence of which was a speedy Determination; but in whose Favour? In Favour of the Enemy of his Catholick Majesty, to whose Maxims and secret Designs, to whose most intimate Councils, and most important Affairs the Cardinal was no Stranger.

Therefore the Author of the Manifesto labours in vain to excuse such Conduct, by saying, that the Cardinal was again upon the Foot of a *Neapolitan* Cardinal; it may happen indeed, that
when

when a State submits to the Fortune of War, it may neither be criminal nor base in a Subject to embrace the Conqueror's Party, tho' his Conduct, if it be excusable, is never the more commendable; but it can never be allowable for a Subject to break off his Attachments to his former Master, and pass over to the Enemy's Side, for the Sake only of following of his Country's Fortune; especially when the said Subject has obtain'd the Riches, Employs, and Honours of it, and had been admitted into its greatest Trusts.

The Author being aware how difficult it would be to excuse this Action says, 'That the Cardinal, to conduct himself with the more Safety, laid the State of his Case before the Sovereign Pontiff, beseeching his Advice, Direction and Protection, and submitting his own Will at the Feet of his Holiness.

The Pope was pleas'd to see the Cardinal's Resignation, and decided, that his Eminency, being at present free from all Engagements contracted with *Spain*, he ought as a *Neapolitan* Cardinal to submit to the Imperial Government, in the same Terms and Circumstances as the other Cardinals of the same Kingdom, and his Holiness undertook to adjust the manner of doing it with the Emperor's Ambassador.

This Narrative is false. 'Tis true indeed, that the Cardinal *del Giudice* beg'd the Holy Father to absolve him of his Oaths of Fidelity, which he had so often taken to his Catholick Majesty, and that the Pope was so indulgent as to grant him the said Absolution : I own moreover, that the Partizans of the House of *Austria* gave out both in their Writings and Discourses, that the Pope's Mediation had mollify'd the Resolution with which they had always rejected the Cardinal *del Giudice* ; but this is only told to raise new Troubles between the Pope and his Catholick Majesty, especially now that the latter is endeavouring to set all *Italy* free. But 'tis false to say, that his Holiness had a Hand in the Cardinal's changing Sides, which was a Proceeding that could not be Glorious either in a Cardinal, or a Mediator ; the rather, because the Interest of the Church requires, that the Pope should connive at, rather than engage the Cardinals to follow this, or the other Party. And as a Prince, would he countenance Revenge, protect Infidelity, assist one of the two Parties, and provoke the Catholick King ? Therefore every body may easily see the Falshood of this Passage, as it is reported in the Manifesto.

The Force of Arguments, the Rules of Honour are all against him ; so that he gets little by enumerating the good Offices, Applause, and Mediation of the Pope, the Sanctuary of the *Austrians*, nor by his boasted Credit with the Duke of *Orleans*, because of his good Offices ; for all these Arguments, which the Author of the

the

Cardinal ALBERONI. 233

the Manifesto makes use of, fall to the Ground before Honour, Decorum, and good Sense ; which can never justify a Man's engaging in the Defence of such extravagant Conduct as is offensive to one of the Parties, while 'tis suspected to be dangerous by the other.

Genoa, Jan. 10. 1719.

FINIS.





CONSIDERATIONS

ON THE

PRESENT STATE

OF THE

Spanish Monarchy.

T cannot be deny'd, that the *Spanish* Monarchy makes quite another Figure at this Day, than it has done for some Years past under the Government of its last Kings. We shall not go so far back as the Reigns of *Charles V.* and *Philip II.* when this Monarchy was so prosperous and powerful as to be formidable to the whole World, and when Rivers of Blood were shed either out of Ambition to raise it still higher, or else out of Envy to dismember it and bring it down to a Level with a petty State. The Kings *Philip III.* and *IV.* had the Regret
and

and Mortification to see its Dominions dismember'd and alienated : But notwithstanding this great Decay of the Monarchy, and when whole Provinces were torn off from the main Body, the *Pyrenean Treaty* may be said to have establish'd King *Philip IV.* on such a sure Footing, that what remain'd to him of this vast Monarchy might have continued in his Possession, if he had had the Wit, or taken due Care, to have kept it.

But unhappily for himself and the Monarchy *Philip* had his Heart set upon Trifles, and minded nothing but his Mistresses, leaving the Care of every thing to Favourites, who had no other Abilities, but a Presumption on their own Capacities ; nor no Fortitude, but such a stupid, indolent Patience under all the Losses which the Monarchy sustain'd, as made 'em count them Nothing. *Es nuda ?* What does that signify ? said they to the King, when they were forc'd to let him know the Loss of the most considerable Places ; What's that to the Worlds in your Majesty's Possession ? 'Twas another Misfortune to the *Spanish* Monarchy to have a young King at their Head, the most impatient of all Princes to aggrandize himself, and form'd to that Ambition by the Cardinal *Mazarine*, his Chief Minister and Governor ; who, to continue himself in the high Station and Favour wherein Fortune had plac'd him, artfully turn'd his Pupil's Mind to Arms, that he might have him all to himself, and take him off from the Caresses of the Fair Sex, and from his Fondness for Amusements. The Pleasures of a Life of Leisure shut his Eyes against the Glory of Conquests, which is the Prize of Heroes Toils and Ambition ; and Cardinal

236 *The Present State of*

dinal *Mazarine* did not cease to represent this to his Young King ; and by procuring him a Flush of happy Successes in War, he made him more and more in Love with Arms, tho' the Oppression of the People was the unavoidable Consequence ; War being a Whirlpool which sucks in all the Treasure of a Nation.

It being impossible for Princes to aggrandize themselves without possessing the Dominions of another, there being no Territory in the World at this Day, which does not belong to some Sovereign, or other ; and it being the chief Rule of Politicks to make War near Home, as well because of the Conveniency of Conquests that are contiguous to the Domains already in Possession, as because of the Ease and Advantage of such a War, King *Lewis XIV.* kept wisely to this Rule in his Attempt to subdue the Low-Countries, both as they were nearest to *France*, and most easy to conquer. Neither was this a new Design ; for *Lewis XIII.* his Father, or rather that King's Minister, the Cardinal *de Richlieu*, had acted on the same Plan ; but it seem'd that the *Pyrenean* Treaty had ty'd up the King's Hands. Besides, those fine Provinces had been so wasted by former Wars, that King *Lewis XIV.* had all the Reason in the World to be contented with the Part that remain'd to him. Nevertheless *Philip IV.* was scarce dead, which was five Years after that Treaty, but he took a Pretence, from a third Part of those Provinces which devolv'd to his Queen by the Municipal Laws, to renew the War. And to shew that he did not want Reasons for this Rupture, the Archbishop of *Ambrun*, who had been his Ambassador at *Madrid*,

drid, was one, among other *French Writers*, who publish'd a Treatise, intitul'd, *Seventy four Reasons, proving the Nullity of the Renunciation the King had made*; but did not touch upon the grand Reason of all, which was the Advantage and Conveniency of seizing what he laid Claim to.

The Queen Regent of *Spain* being ill-advis'd, and her Son King *Charles II.* being ill serv'd by the Generals and the Troops, suffer'd such Losses in the Low-Countries, from a Young King, who came to attack them in Person, at the Head of all the Flower of the Nobility of *France*, that the *English*, the *Swedes*, and the *Dutch*, out of meer Compassion to them, form'd a Triple Alliance, which for a while suspended and interrupted the Conquests of King *Lewis*, who extol'd to Pope *Clement IX.* the Peace made in 1668 at *Aix la Chapelle*, which he pretended was his Gift; but four Years after, falling into *Holland* with the Title of Avenger of the *Roman Religion*, which those People had abandon'd an Age ago; and the *Spaniards*, to make good their particular Alliances with the States General, mutually to assist one another, having sent some Troops to the *Dutch*, the King, who saw the latter recover'd out of their Consternation into which his Conquests had cast them, (giving up all at his Arrival in their Provinces) left them, to carry on the War in *Spanish Flanders*, which lasted till the Year 1678, when the Treaty of *Nimeguen* put a Stop to its Course. This Peace had lasted but few Years, when the War, tho' without any previous Declaration, was renew'd, by the taking Possession of several Places, which *France* seiz'd by Virtue of several Decrees and
Sen-

238 *The Present State of*

Sentences that issued from Tribunals, which King *Lewis* had erected at Home, where his own Subjects adjudg'd certain Places and Domains to him, which they said belong'd to him by antient and modern Titles. This way of passing Sentence upon Property and Rights, claim'd by the Crown of *France*, had already been put in Practice, after the Treaties of *Aix la Chapelle* and *Nimeguen*, when just as those favourable Judges gave their Opinion, such and such Towns or Districts, in which what they pleas'd was comprehended, were pronounc'd to be Dependencies of the Places yielded by those Treaties, in pursuance of which, *France* put herself in possession of 'em, protesting, at the same time, that she did not mean a War, but only a punctual Execution of the Treaties.

By this Means the *Spanish* Monarchy fell to Decay, till being worn away by these Artifices and Losses, it sunk all at once, if not into the Hands of *France*, at least, into those of a *French* Prince, which did not diminish the Fear of seeing the two Crowns united on one and the same Head. The Dominions which border mediately, or immediately upon *France*, being concern'd in this Fall, which entirely destroy'd the Ballance between the two Powers, under whose Shadow all the other Dominions enjoy'd some sort of Repose; the last War was begun and carried on to restore that Equilibrium; it ended, indeed, without producing that Effect, which all the Confederates seem'd to desire with so much Earnestness; but, in Exchange it produc'd a Cessation of Arms betwixt the two grand and principal Competitors, which

was

was to last till the main Quarrel about the Succession to *Spain* could be amicably compos'd.

The Maritime Powers undertook the Guaranty of this Armistice, and made it their particular Care to maintain the Neutrality of the Dominions in *Italy*; where as a War might be carried on with most Ease; so it was most probable it would break out again. As *England* was the Cause that the last War was finish'd without obtaining the End for which it was begun, the most serene Elector, *George* of *Hanover*, by whose Succession to that powerful Kingdom Affairs were entirely chang'd there, took extraordinary Pains to procure by Negotiations what could not be done by Arms. For this End he propos'd to the Regent of *France*, and to the States General of the United Provinces, to enter into a reciprocal Alliance, with a View to offer their Mediation to the Parties concern'd, viz. the Emperor *Charles* VI, and King *Philip* V. In the first Place, he labour'd with the Emperor to dispose him to give up his Pretensions to *Spain*; and offer'd him the necessary Assistance to defend what part of the *Spanish* Monarchy he was possess'd of, in case that his Catholick Majesty should not acquiesce in the Peace that was to be propos'd to him on that Condition. King *Philip*, or rather his Minister, refusing to enter into any Means of an Accommodation; and having, in 1717, taken *Sardinia* by Force; and attacking next Year *Sicily*, at a Time when the *Spaniards* gave out, and the World believ'd, they would attack the Kingdom of *Naples*, the King of *Great Britain* sent a Squadron into the *Mediterranean*, which made a Beginning, by the Defeat

240 *The Present State of*

feat of the *Spanish* Fleet, in the Sea of *Sicily*, off of *Syracusa*. But this not discouraging the *Spaniards*, who treated the *English* every where with Hostility; the War was openly declar'd, not only by *Great Britain*, but by *France*, in pursuance of an Alliance call'd *Quadruple*, into which the *Dutch* and the King of *Sicily* are since enter'd, in Favour of the Emperor, who is the Head of the Confederacy. Such are the Circumstances of *Spain* at this Juncture, that if we may be allow'd to conjecture, we cannot prophesy what the present System or State of Affairs will produce.

There is no forming any just Conclusion, without considering the Personal Qualities of those who are at the Head of Affairs, the Causes to which the present State thereof is owing, and the Assistances or Hindrances which naturally forward or obstruct their Progress; for 'tis certain, that the Abilities or Incapacities of those who are at the Helm of Affairs make them better or worse; and that the same Dispositions are attended with good or bad Success, in proportion to the Conduct by which they are directed. But it is not easy to point out the Characters of Kings and their Ministers, their Lives being commonly a Secret to the rest of Mankind. To this it is answer'd, that the thing propos'd, is not to scrutinize into their Manners, or good or bad Qualifications, but only to judge and reason upon their Conduct or Administration; which, being expos'd to the View of the whole World, 'tis so far from encroaching upon the Right of another, to make Reflections upon what happens in Publick,

lick, that 'tis the Prerogative of every Man living. Indeed, Prognosticks are, in some Cases, prohibited, because they commonly advance Things that are uncertain, and sometimes dangerous to the Prognosticator, when he exceeds the Bounds of a respectful and impartial Speculation.

What has happen'd hitherto in *Spain*, since King *Philip's* Accession to the Throne, has discover'd two Qualities in that Prince, which seem incompatible. We have seen him both in *Italy* and *Spain* at the Head of Armies, which is a Mark of his Courage and Bravery. For if he had car'd to behold Danger only at a Distance, he had Reasons sufficient to keep out of Harms way; and the first and most pressing of all was, the not exposing a Life on which depended the Safety of *Spain*, and whose Establishment upon the Throne was the sole Aim of the many publick and private Ways made use of, and the great Expences incur'd. 'Tis rare to see a Prince animated with such a lively martial Spirit abandon the Government of his Dominions to another, without taking Cognizance, at least, of Affairs which are of the last Importance, or make Alterations only to please his Counsellors, without examining whether the Novelty will be advantagious and useful, especially if those Counsellors are not thought very fit or able to give Advice. The Publick knows how much the Government has been vary'd for a long Time, not only with respect to the Finances, which, together with the Ministers, were chang'd, at least, every Year, but with respect to the Generals, Grantees, and Persons employ'd

242 *The Present State of*

ploy'd in the Direction of Affairs, as well Natives as Foreigners, whom we have seen toss'd from Post to Pillar, only by the Interest of one Woman, who did what she pleas'd; such an Indolence, I say, in the Person of a Sovereign, suppos'd and known to be courageous and active in War, seems to have no manner of Affinity with these latter Dispositions, and would rather persuade one that his natural Temper is so soft and stupid, that he would scarce feel himself affected by the total Ruin of his Monarchy.

Not but that there have been Kings of this Make, who have seen their Dominions flourish, and their Crowns ador'd; but then they have ow'd these Advantages to the Skill of their Ministers, who, being endow'd with extraordinary Talents, knew how to procure Respect to their Princes, and to support the Weight of Affairs, how important and difficult soever. There are certain Rocks which Kings must avoid in their splendid Voyage. They should be cautious, in particular, of being reckon'd unfit and incapable to govern by themselves. For this draws upon them the Contempt of Foreigners, and, commonly, the Hatred of their own Subjects, when they see that every Thing depends upon the Pleasure of a single Minister, who often has a greater View to his own particular Satisfaction, and the Advancement of his Creatures, than to the Reward of Merit, and the best Services done to the State. And among other Prejudices which a Prince suffers, who leaves his Dominions to be govern'd by another, tho', perhaps, with Success, we may reckon the Shame of being a Slave to such Minister, as was *Lewis XIII,*

XIII, who could have neither Servant, nor Confident, or Favourite, without Cardinal *Richlieu's* Leave, who could not say a Word, or make the least Motion, which was not reported to the Cardinal by his Spies, nor confer any Favour, but at the Recommendation of that Minister, who was so severe as to expel the King's Mother and Brother out of the Kingdom, because they could not bear to see the Royal Majesty so debas'd and dishonour'd, by the Arrogance of a Man, who, at most, was but his Prince's Subject and Creature, notwithstanding his happy Administration of Affairs.

One cannot have or give a better Idea of the deceas'd Queen *Mary Louisa*, than to consider her as one who had the same Affection, even to Indulgence, for the Princess of *Ursines*, as King *Philip* had; and who had, in some sort, suppress'd the Curiosity natural to her Sex, from prying into what the Court and City thought of that despotick Sway with which that Lady govern'd and dispos'd of every Thing in their Majesties Name. Jesus Christ, whose Actions are all Lessons, had, undoubtedly, the Instruction of Kings principally in view, when he expresses his Curiosity to know what Men thought and said of him (*Matt. c. 16.*) For Kings ought not to depend so intirely upon the Sufficiency and good Intentions of those who use their Authority, as not to enquire, and also lend an Ear, sometimes to what the People and Subjects say of 'em, in order to set Things right when they go amiss. 'Tis, indeed, perfectly natural for a Queen, especially in a strange Country, and in a Court where the Language and Manners are quite

different from her own, to stick close to some Female Confident, and to give herself up entirely to her; and 'tis as natural for her Confident, if she has but a Grain of Ambition and Assurance, to give her Ambition full swing in the Enjoyment of her Trust, and by her Caresses (the Bower in which Princes often fall asleep) to hinder the Queen from seeing what passes without, or from hearing it by another Hand within.

King *Philip* and his Queen were thus closely beset by the Dutchess thirteen Years without Interruption; for tho' the King of *France*, Grandfather to King *Philip*, being provok'd because this Lady hector'd every one at *Madrid* that did not stoop to her Will, did once obtain or command, that she should leave *Spain* and return to *France*, yet she preserv'd her Credit, and soon came back again to resume her Ascendant over their Catholick Majesties; the Queen having taken the Absence of her flattering Confident so much to Heart, that she oblig'd her Husband to represent her Uneasiness to the King his Grandfather, who could not hold out against those Instances, and therefore sent back the Dutchess to *Madrid*. But it seems that her last Disgrace has depriv'd her of all Hopes of returning again, and as long as the new Queen has any Interest, 'tis very probable that the Princess of *Ursines* will keep far enough from *Spain*. However, 'tis not long ago that she made some Efforts which seem'd to raise her Credit, for she obtain'd of King *Philip* the Continuation of her Pensions, which was a great Step towards her Return to Favour; but she will

will always have cause to remember the new Minister, who is not such a Fool to suffer her to return, since that would be exposing his Favour to the Rivalship of a Woman, who could never endure an Equal, and much less be easy to see another put over her Head. The Goodness of King *Philip*, if we may be allow'd to call it by that Name, in giving her a Principality of 30000 Crowns Revenue, and this actually in the *Netherlands*, and in insisting in her Favour at the Treaties which have been made, even in that of *Baden*, which gave Occasion to the Jest that Prince *Eugene* put upon the Marshal *de Villars*, who brought the Demand, is a flagrant Proof of the Complaisance which the King still retains for that Lady; and so much the more, because, that being out of Favour, and having more Estate and Honours already than she car'd for, the consigning of this Principality to her was the Subject of still greater Raillery.

Some of the good Qualities of the new Queen *Elizabeth* have already been touch'd upon in speaking of her, viz. her Lively Temper, Gentle yet Resolute; and of this seemingly no greater Proof can be given, than the Care she took before she went to *Spain* to send away the Dutchess of *Braiccano*, who might, and 'twas natural to expect, would certainly by her Artifice have continu'd to embroil Affairs, and endanger'd the Domestick Agreement betwixt her and her Consort, whenever she could not find her own Conveniency in it. Forasmuch as Queens usually have a small Share in Affairs during the Lives of their Husbands, at least in Appearance, it must be still less, in a Case where the Credit

and Name of a Minister shall do every thing, and draw upon himself either all the Praise or all the Censure for whatever happens. What is singular in this Case, is, that the Minister owing all his Fortune to her, will have, as may be suppos'd, all the Veneration possible for her Majesty, will advise with her at least how to make the best use of her Favour, and will give her all the Satisfaction that she can desire, either for herself or for those that she has a Mind to recommend. The meanest Foresight is enough to convince the Cardinal, that the Interest of the Queen may one Day turn him out of Favour, and ruin him in the Affections of a King so good and complaisant as King *Philip*. But the Minister must expect for his own Part, that the Queen may be under such a Necessity of supporting him, to Credit that Advancement which she has procur'd for him, that she will refer the most important Affairs to him, and not give the Preference to her own particular Sentiments, that she may not be oblig'd to answer for the Consequences.

What can we think or say of this Minister, so favour'd by Fortune, that she has rais'd him at once from the meanest Condition, not only to the Pinnacle of all the Humane Grandeur and Dignities to which Ecclesiasticks, whose Order he had assum'd, cou'd aspire; but even to those which the most consummate Abilities, and the most shining Merit could obtain? It would be ill-natur'd to oblige Cardinal *Alberoni* in his happy Career to look back for his Genealogy, in that which was formerly drawn in *France* for one of the chief Ministers of the late King,

King, who, in Allusion to his own Name, took a Serpent or Snake for his Arms. A certain Panegyrist, who was calling the Minister's Nativity, and sought for it among the Kings of a very ancient Kingdom, then a Friend and Ally to *France*, read it in these two Words which were written in his Pocket-Book, *Ex Sale et Luto*; which shew'd, that as the Heat of the Sun draws Serpents out of the Mud, so his *Macedias* ow'd his very Being and Advancement to a King, who took the Sun for his Device. We would not make an odious Reflection upon the Cardinal's Birth or Ancestors. Honour and Personal Merit is a Lustre, which gilds and makes noble Meanness of any sort; and when once a Man makes his Way into the World at that Door, he becomes worthy of all possible Esteem and Respect; and 'tis such a vain Experiment as must turn to the Confusion of him who makes it, to throw a Contempt upon Virtue, which takes care of the Conduct and Advances of the Person whom it guides.

M. *Alberoni* is therefore now Cardinal and Prime Minister, the one by the Recommendation, and the other by the Choice of King *Philip V.* *Quod felix, faustum, fortunatumque sit.* O that it may be for the Glory of his Promoter, the Advantage of the State which is given him to govern, and for the Repose of *Europe*, the Success of which Wishes so many are in Pain for, while every one discourses and reasons differently upon it, according to his Understanding. Let us now see the Sentiments of the Author of this Discourse, and in the first Place lay down

248 *The Present State of*

the Facts that are to be the Basis of our future Reasonings.

The Cardinal found the Kingdom of *Spain* at Peace, and likely to enjoy it for a long Time, if he had advis'd King *Philip* to agree with the Emperor on his Pretensions, and to leave him in quiet Enjoyment of the Crown upon his Head. But on the contrary, he perswaded the King to make War, and has begun it. 'Tis very well known, that Great Designs lead to Great Glory, and that a Minister, who would render himself agreeable to Kings, need only make them believe the Justice of their Pretensions, and the Probability of obtaining them. But if the Judgment of the Publick must be suspended, because the Tribunal, the Oracle according to which People judge of the best Cause, be not thorowly acquainted with the common Proofs of the Right of Princes, their Counsellors ought maturely to consider the Ways and Means which they think to employ, and whether they shall come off with Honour and without Loss.

The Sources of these Ways and Means are very well known, *viz.* Negotiation and Force. The latter requires Contributions of Money at Home, and Alliances with Foreigners abroad, which are also both pretty well known. This being a true Judgment of the present State of Affairs in *Spain*; it seems very strange and wonderful, that Cardinal *Alberoni* should take a Resolution to engage King *Philip* in a War, which requires infinite Treasures and powerful Alliances. There's Gold and Silver without doubt in the Kingdoms of *Spain*, but their Wealth
lies

lies all in the Hands of the Great Men, both Ecclesiasticks and Seculars ; for the Common People are not only poor, but very poor.

In the mean Time, the Taxes must be levy'd upon the latter, and not upon the Great Men, who don't use to contribute to the Kings in *Spain*, unless they are possess'd of some Posts or Offices that are subject to be tax'd. 'Tis said, that notwithstanding all this Speculation and all the idle Talk about the Riches or Poverty of the *Spaniards*, the Cardinal has found Means to employ an infinite Number of Workmen, partly Natives, and partly Strangers come over from Foreign Countries, in building a very great Number of Ships, and preparing all the Equipage of War. There must be Money to begin and carry on all this, and hitherto we have not heard that the Work has abated for want of it. But will it hold out as long as Occasion shall require, and is it not the End only which crowns the Work ? All new Things please for a Time, especially when they are propos'd with a specious Appearance of noble and very promising Designs. The Grandees, that they may not be thought Enemies to the Honour of the King, or rather of his Minister, have freely and generously advanc'd great Sums, which they have sent either in Specie to the Royal Treasury, or employ'd in raising Regiments at their own Expence, and then Arming and Cloathing them for the King's Service. At the same Time, those employ'd in the Finances have been severely pinch'd, and that by Force, and oblig'd to disburse the Sums rated them by the Minister. But
how

250 *The Present State of*

how often may recourse be had to both these Methods, which are still as necessary one Year as another, so long as the War shall last?

Neither is the raising of National Troops subject to the least Difficulties. The Kingdoms of *Spain* are not Populous, for Reasons which every one knows, *viz.* the burdensome Numbers of their Priests, Monks and Nuns; the natural Sterility of the *Spanish* Women, who, tho' they may have Children by good Luck, leave off Childbearing much sooner than the Women of other Nations; the Draught of whole Families made out of *Spain* by expelling the *Moors* twice, besides those who are continually sent out of the Country, or who go every Year to the *Indies* or other Parts for their own Interest. In the mean time, the Continuation of the War requires continual Recruits, and there is the greater Appearance that these must shortly fail, because there's no sign of any Confederates, to whom the Minister can apply to augment his Forces, and to help maintain the War. At another Time, and in another Case, *Spain* might have depended upon *French* Troops. But now they are actually hinder'd from serving beyond the *Pyrenees*, because the Courts of *Madrid* and *Paris* and the two Kings, tho' the one is an Uncle and the other his Nephew, have different Interests, and those of such Consequence, that they cannot be accommodated by any Expedient whatsoever. 'Tis plain, that by the King of *France*, I mean him who governs, and not him who is to govern, if God spares his Life; and that I speak of the Interests of the former, when

when I say, they are not to be united with those of King *Philip*. For want of the *French* Allies, every Body thought that Cardinal *Alberoni* would have made Use of the Subjects of his Royal Highness of *Savoy* King of *Sicily*, in whose Name he might have list'd as many *Italians* and *Frenchmen* as he had pleas'd, those who spoke either Language being the Duke's Subjects. The World thought the Cardinal had made himself sure of this Ally, and that the latter would have made War with him against the Emperor, who had not yet own'd him for King of *Sicily*, and declin'd to make a Peace with him. But the Cardinal, after having kept all *Europe*, and the Duke too in suspense, declares against him, invades *Sicily*, and that was the Way he took to let him know his real Intentions. It was given out publicly, that the Cardinal thought to carry the Kingdom of *Naples*, after he had made himself Master of the Island of *Sardinia*; and no Body dreamt that he would want, or make use of *Sicily*, to facilitate that Conquest. This was a Mystery which his Eminency treated of secretly with his *Sicilian* Majesty, whom he endeavour'd to dispose to yield his Island amicably to him, for certain Equivalents he promis'd him elsewhere; but as the latter did not determine himself soon enough, it was thought fit to seize his Island, and to lay the Blame thereof upon his Delay.

It was also said, that there was a League form'd between several Princes to procure Allies for Cardinal *Alberoni*, who appear'd to be the Author, or at least the principal Promoter of the

1252 *The Present State of*

the said Confederacy. The Confederates were to appear, when they were least suspected, to make War in good earnest against the Emperor, and drive the *Germans* out of *Italy*. At the same time an *Italian* Book was publish'd, whose Author seem'd to be the Trumpeter of this Alliance; for he shews both the Princes and People of that Country, that they were always free; with a View, as may be imagin'd, to excite them to restore to their Country that Liberty, which, says the Author, it had enjoy'd ever since the Foundation of *Rome*. But why should they take up Arms for this? There is no Prince or State in *Italy*, who is at this Day more enslav'd and worse treated by the Emperor of *Germany*, whom it has been the chief View to dispossess of the Provinces and Rights which he possesses in that Country, than were the *Italians* under the *Pagan* Emperors, and those barbarous Nations, who most unworthily trampled under Foot the Senate and Liberty of *Italy*, as all are convinc'd, who have read antient History, notwithstanding any modern Treatises that may come out to persuade them of the contrary. *The nice* *Italians*, says the Author, cannot bear the gross Customs of the *Germans*, and are resolv'd, under the Auspices of the *Spaniards*, to drive them Home. But are not we in the Condition of the Mice, that conspir'd against the Cat?

'Tis not to be suppos'd, that Cardinal *Alberoni* design'd to make an Alliance with Hereticks against the Emperor. The *Spanish* Devotees declaim'd so much against the Heretical Allies, who join'd King *Charles* the present Emperor in the last War, that they surely would not run into the
the

the same Fault; yet 'tis now no Secret, that the Cardinal courted an Alliance much more dangerous to the *Roman* Religion, namely with the Sultan, and this by the means of Prince *Ragotzki*, to whom 'tis known that he sent a Minister to reside with him on the Part of King *Philip* and of his Eminency, to inform the Porte how much the Emperor was taken up by the War declar'd against him in *Italy*, and of the Advantages which the Grand Seignior might reap from that Diversion by continuing the War in *Hungary*. Indeed the publick News-Papers mention'd certain Protestations which the Prince *de Cellamare* publish'd in them, running down this Discovery, as an Imposition upon Mankind; but we have not heard, that he has prov'd the Falshood of an Account, given in the *Paris Journal*, of the said Envoy's Voyage to, and happy Arrivall at, *Adrianople*, and of his Speech there to Prince *Ragotzki*. In the mean time this must give an extraordinary Idea of the Minister's Conduct, the rather, because the Peace which ensu'd between the Emperor and the *Ottoman* Porte has remov'd all the Apprehensions, which such a Correspondence could occasion.

So much for the Allies, whom 'tis known that Cardinal *Alberoni* actually had or might have courted to join in the War declar'd against the Emperor. We shall now speak of those whom he provok'd on this Occasion to declare against himself and against his Catholick Majesty. And in the first Place of King *George* of Great Britain. His *Britannick* Majesty, as is manifest, having taken extraordinary Pains to confirm the Repose of *Europe*, and to compose the Difference

†
that

254 *The Present State of*

that remain'd to be accommodated, with respect to the Succession of *Spain*, had brought things to the point of a total Accommodation, by disposing the Emperor to renounce all his Pretensions to the Kingdoms of *Spain* and the *Indies*, provided only that *Sicily* should be yielded up to his Imperial Majesty. *France* engag'd herself to procure it, and was enter'd into the Guaranty of the said Agreement. Yet we have seen, it did not avail to get the Cardinal's Consent to the said Pacification; but his Refusal at that time was imputed to the extraordinary Confidence he had repos'd in the numerous Forces which he had then on foot, and partly to an Aversion which Great Men commonly have against a publick Recanting their Prejudices, because it gives an occasion to condemn them for trusting to Foundations too weak to support them.

Nevertheless, if one may judge by his first Settings out, it appears, that his Confidence was actually very ill founded; for at the first Tryal he made of his Forces, which he thought so strong, his Fleet was in a manner entirely defeated in *Sicily*. His Creatures, to diminish the Loss, and hinder the whole Truth of the Fact from being known in *Spain*, made a mighty Noise in the publick News of the taking of *Palermo* and *Messina*, and of the Joy with which the *Sicilians* receiv'd, and came in Crowds to meet the *Spaniards*. But as it was impossible always to conceal the Truth, the Cardinal thought fit at length to cause a Letter to be compos'd in his own Name, and directed to the *Spanish* Ambassador at *London*, wherein the *English* were mightily reproach'd

proach'd for having, without any Motive, Necessity, or Pretext, abus'd the Character which they had assum'd of Mediators, and attack'd a People who thought them Friends, and did not mistrust them.

Card. *Alberoni* knowing how much it imported a prime Minister to have a Secretary capable of giving a good Turn to the Declarations he was to publish, and remembring, that while his Eminency was at the Duke of *Vendosm's*, he knew an ingenious Person, who was his Secretary, he had a Mind to take him to himself, and invited him to come to *Spain*, with a Bill of Exchange of 10000 Livres, which he sent him to bear his Charges. The Secretary embrac'd the Proposal, foreseeing no doubt, that this Service would be very profitable to him, since the first Offers were accompanied with so liberal a Gratification. In the mean time, the Turn of the Letter (if it was pen'd by that able Secretary) did not seem to be altogether happy, no more than that of another Letter address'd in the Name of the said Cardinal to the Marquess *Beretti Landi*, King *Philip's* Ambassador to the States General; to oblige him to use his Diligence to divert them from entring into the Alliance form'd against the Catholick King, or the Designs of his Minister; and this, for Reasons which do not seem either in the one or the other to be artfully laid down. Be that as it will, with respect to the Letters, the first was smartly confuted by Mr. *Craggs*, the *British* Secretary of State, in the Name of King *George* and the *British* Nation. Indeed, the second has appear'd without Reply or Examination, perhaps, because it was suppos'd there was

256 *The Present State of*

was no Danger of its making a great Impression on the Minds of those to whom it was to be communicated: And in short Things took their Course, and the States declar'd for the Quadruple Alliance, tho' with such Reservations as are reported elsewhere.

Cardinal *Alberoni* seeing the *Spaniards* a little recover'd from their Abjection of Mind, discover'd the same Confidence as before in the Success of his Designs, pressing every Day with more Vigour than other the Continuation of the Military Preparations in *Spain*, and perswading the Nation not only that the Loss which they might have sustain'd before *Syracusa* would be more than abundantly repair'd, but that they would have a Fleet two or three times more numerous than that which was surpriz'd and male-treated by Admiral *Bing*.

And indeed all the News from *Spain* was continually about Listing of Soldiers, Marching of Troops, Building of Ships in all the Ports of the Kingdom, and Preparations of Convoys, all design'd for *Italy*; and *huelga me Dios*, where's the *Spaniard* who was not rouz'd at this Noise, and who did not expect Wonders from such a prodigious Armament? The main Business, some say, and the greatest Difficulty is to furnish this great and numerous Fleet with Hands capable of working it, there being but just enough in *Spain* to equip the Galeons that sail to *America*; so that 'tis believ'd, the Cardinal will not find it so easy a Matter to get them as he imagines. It does not appear, that he has Reason to expect that he shall get many from *England* and *Holland*, or even from *France*; tho' some are continually

tinually shipping out of all three Dominions, who are tempted to go to *Spain*, either to please their Curiosity, or in Hopes of greater Profit than the Cardinal has promis'd them. But will this Number be sufficient for his Occasions, and are there any other Ways to make up the full Complement? The Kings of *Denmark* and *Sweden* are at War, and cannot spare their Seamen. To form the *Spaniard* to Marine Affairs is transporting them into unknown Countries, and to a State or Condition of Life which they reckon unworthy their Nobility; besides that, this could not be done in a few Days, nor even in Months, nor Years; for Persons never heartily learn what they don't care either to know, or practise. Then they must wait the Ingenuity of Cardinal *Alberoni*, and, as the Saying is, keep Life and Soul together; and if by Misfortune the Measures taken shall be found too deficient, Pretences will not be wanting to lay the Blame upon others.

'Tis certain therefore, that his Eminency did not think that the Declaration of the King and Parliament of *Great Britain* ought to terrify him, or oblige him to suspend his Armament, or abandon his Designs: He had also two Strings to his Bow at the same time, viz. to strike a Stroke himself; and to oblige the *English* to be on the Defensive in their own Country, by raising a War in their Bowels. Every one knows now, that the late King of *Sweden* was very deep in this Project. His Ministers arrested, one in *England*, and the other in *Holland*, left no room to doubt on't. It was not charg'd to the Court of *Spain* then, because the Thing was scarce well known. Yet those, who saw that the King of

258 *The Present State of*

Sweden had no particular Interest to induce him to arm against *England*, nor the necessary means to carry on an Offensive War, which it was said he had undertaken merely for establishing the Pretender upon the Throne of *Great Britain*, when they found that the Court of *Spain* declar'd also for the said Pretender, did not scruple from that time to place the Armament and Designs of the King of *Sweden* to the Cardinal's Account, and did not doubt but he furnish'd the Charge of the Enterprize. The Arrest of those two Ministers, after the Death of the King of *Sweden*, and the Prosecution now carry'd on against them for the Employment of Sums of Money, which 'tis known they receiv'd and apply'd to their own Advantage, will without fail discover the whole Mystry.

The Secret indeed does already seem more than sufficiently explain'd by the publick Arrival of the Duke of *Ormond* in *Spain*, thro' the Cardinal, when he order'd his Catholick Majesty's Minister at the *Hague* to notify it to the States General, put another Colour upon his Arrival, as if it had been unforeseen and accidental. He orders him to assure those Gentlemen, That the Duke having resided in the Neighbourhood of *Paris*, from *June* to the End of *October*; and the *Earl of Stairs* having made pressing Instances to the Regent to tolerate him no longer in *France*, the Duke had resolv'd to come to *Spain*, where the King, that he might not be deficient in the Rules of Hospitality, (which he accuses the Regent of *France* of having violated on this Occasion, tho' a Friend and Ally of the King of *England*) caus'd him to stop forty Leagues

' Leagues from Court. And this is the real
' Truth of the Matter, which the Ambassador has
' Orders to impart to the States, to the end that
' his Excellency may make the best Use on it.

It is not easy to conceive what Use the States General, or the Ambassador, could gather from this Advice; for supposing, that the States should act without a View to the Advantages or Disadvantages of his Britannick Majesty, they would learn nothing that was capable of persuading them, that the Court of Spain would not favour either the Pretender, or the Duke of Ormond. 'Tis own'd, that the Duke, after having made many Journeys to Italy, Sweden and France, being oblig'd to depart the latter, retires to Spain; where it was reckon'd a Piece of Merit to treat him according to the Laws of Hospitality, which does at least mean that they consider'd him as a Friend, very far from giving any Reason to suspect, that they have any Regard, or Consideration, for the Interests of the King of Great Britain, whom that Lord was a declar'd Enemy to, and aim'd to dethrone. 'Tis true, that after Hostilities began betwixt Great Britain and Spain, neither Side was oblig'd to have those Regards for one another. But what could this Advice serve for, if the Court did not intend to value themselves upon it?

The Duke of Ormond did not stay long from Court; but was invited to Madrid, and caress'd there both by the King and his Eminency; and this with so much Ceremony, that he went soon after into Ireland or Scotland to revive the Zeal of the Pretender's Partisans, who had had so ill

260 *The Present State of*

Success in their former Rebellion. This was what the Cardinal threaten'd before there was any Declaration of War between the two Kingdoms; viz. That there were Ways to disturb King *George* in the Possession of the Crown which he had upon his Head. Not that the Malecontents of *England* have any particular Friendship, which binds them to King *Philip* and the Crown of *Spain*: but being divided into two Parties, one of which seems to wish they could see King *James II.* upon the Throne of *Great Britain*, they only seek a Pretext to oppose one another; and as the present Ministry, who are all Whigs, oppose them both, the latter make use of the Name and Cause of the *Prebender*, as the Reason of their Discontent, which they discover upon all Occasions. But 'tis a Question, whether the Whigs will be so easily drawn in to disapprove the War against *Spain*, as the Tories were to put an End to the last War in 1713, thereby leaving *Europe* in those Difficulties, from whence she might have then been extricated, and made sure of a lasting Peace, considering the means that were at that time in her own Hands.

As we admire the Politicks of Cardinal *Alberoni*, for refusing one while under one Pretext, and another while under another, all the Proposals of Accommodation which the Courts of *Paris* and *London* made to him; so we were no less surpriz'd, when we heard that the Ground of his said Refusal, was in hopes to see *France*, in particular, so embarrass'd at Home, that she would have neither Conveniency nor Time to meddle with the Affairs of *Spain*. Indeed, it cannot be deny'd that 'tis a Rule in Politicks, which

which takes Place at this Day, to find Work at Home, for those who we are not willing should meddle in our Affairs.

But let the Fathers Confessors decide, whether all Methods of plunging our Neighbours in Broils are justifiable. In the mean time, every one must think with Horror of those Methods, which cannot be put in practice without a great Effusion of Blood; and no wonder if all Persons do not join in approving them. Cardinal *Alberoni* being very well vers'd in this political Rule of Conduct, when he form'd the great Design of recovering the *Spanish* Monarchy, rent in pieces by the last War, foresaw the Opposition, first of the Emperor, as the Principal whom he must oblige to restore what he had in his Possession; and then of the Crowns of *Great Britain*, *France* and the States General, who interested themselves in Favour of that Tranquility and Peace which *Europe* had begun to enjoy. He did what he could, as has been said elsewhere, to prolong that War which employ'd the Emperor's Forces on the Frontiers of *Hungary*. He undertook the Cause of the Pretender, to oblige the *English* to stay at Home, to breed a Quarrel among themselves, and to engage them in a Civil War. 'Tis very probable, that the *Dutch* giving him no Cause of Apprehension, he did not trouble himself to raise Enemies against them, being convinc'd, that for the sake of Commerce alone, they would be the last to enter into all the Projects which the Confederates might form against him; and that there would be always an Opportunity to draw them off by Offers more

262. *The Present State of*

more advantageous than they could possibly expect from the Continuation of the War.

The main Difficulty was to find Pretences to divert the *French* from opposing his Views. The present Situation of that Kingdom furnish'd him with one to his Mind; and he had nothing to do but to foment Divisions among them, to render their Concert and Concurrence in a foreign War impossible. He had no Pretence, indeed, to excite Broils against the King of *France*; but the Regent having unavoidably rais'd Malecontents, by his favouring the Cause of the Princes of the Blood, against the legitimated Princes; and, on some other Occasions, wherein he did not find the Interest of the State comparable with that of some Communities or particular Men; there was, consequently, a Division among the People, which gave a Handle, to those who were inclin'd to make use of it, in embroiling his Affairs. The Dissention which is still among the Clergy, upon Account of the Pope's late Bull or *Constitution*, the Sticklers for which complain that the Regent has not a due Respect for the Pope's Authority, gave the Cardinal another Motive to take Advantage of their Bigotry, to set them against the Regent; and this was the more dangerous and mischievous to the Regent, because the Clergy of the highest Order seem'd to be generally in the Pope's Interest.

The Plan of this Opposition against the Regent's Designs to maintain the Peace, was a Concert or Conspiracy of all the Malecontents against him; and the View of it was to deprive him of the Regency, on pretence that he abus'd
it

it to the Ruin of the Kingdom; what was to have follow'd his being depos'd is not said; tho' in the Letters intercepted from the Prince de Cellamare, there is some mention of this Circumstance; and after what manner the Regency was to be form'd. There is even the mention of a Fire which was to be all over the Kingdom, after the Mines should be sprung to kindle it, which certainly is frightful and horrible to think of. But this is no more than the natural Consequence of a Civil War, in which the Parties are bitterly exasperated one against another. And 'tis said in one of those Letters, that the Divine Mercy may, in time, appease the present Jealousies and Discontents; an Acknowledgment which truly does not help much to justify those who rais'd them, or are engag'd in them.

Nevertheless it must be own'd, that supposing those Divisions were prior to the Design of hindring the French from meddling with the Affairs of Spain, the fomenting those Discontents carries nothing in it but what is to be found in the Rules and Maxims of worldly Policy. There was, besides, another Reason to expect that Matters would not proceed to Hostilities; and that, at least, the Regent would not employ French Men against Spain, it being inconsistent with Prudence, to expose them to the Temptation of deserting, or of refusing to fight against a Prince of the Blood Royal, such an one as they should always esteem King Philip, tho' there be ever so great a Misunderstanding betwixt the two Nations.

Some other Sparks appear'd, which left no manner of room to doubt that they would actually

actually break out into an open War: and that the Inclinations of some for a Peace were only feign'd. The secret Practices to excite Broils in the Dominions of the Emperor and the most Christian King continu'd, and Persons were lately apprehended, both at *Vienne* and *Paris*, for holding Correspondences dangerous to the publick Peace. But after all, 'tis to be hop'd that Peace and good Order will soon be re-establish'd every where; and that the World will taste the Fruits of it with as much Delight, as the uncertain State of Affairs hitherto has occasion'd Vexation and Uneasiness.



